

Loaves, Beds, Plants and Osiris

Considerations about the emergence of the Cult of Osiris

Leo Roeten



ARCHAEOPRESS EGYPTOLOGY 21

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..... but that the dread of something after death,
the undiscovered country, from whose bourn no traveller returns.....

(W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 3, scene 1)

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For Marga, as always

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Entr.th.	Entrance thickness.
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fd	False door.
FIP	First Intermediate Period.
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GM	Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge sur ägyptologischen Diskussion, Göttingen.
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- MFA Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- MK Middle Kingdom.
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nw	Northern wall
OA	Oriental Archive, Prague.
Obstet Gynecol.	Obstetrics & Gynecology (Philadelphia).
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OEE	Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database (Linacre College, Oxford (2006) <i>Oxford Expedition to Egypt: Scene-details Database</i> [data-set]. York: Archaeology Data Service [distributor] doi:10.5284/1000009).
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PM, IV	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Volume IV</i> (Oxford, 1968).
Preliminary report Abusir	Preliminary report on the Czechoslovak Excavations in the Mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir (Praha, 1976).
PRSV	Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria, Melbourne.
PT	Pyramid Texts.
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Introduction

I. The tomb

The main and completely prosaic purpose of a tomb has always been to get rid of the decomposable remains of a deceased human being. The oldest tombs that have been found are oval pit-graves of small dimensions situated in the desert for the burial of the deceased, whether rich or poor.¹ In most cases the deceased was lying in a foetal posture, which might be interpreted as proof of a belief in rebirth,² but, more prosaic, it can also be seen as proof of the fact that it was desirable to bury a person with the least possible investment of labour. It is the presence in the grave of gifts for the deceased that leads to the conclusion that ideas of life after death were present. During the development of the Badari and Nagada culture this type of grave was replaced by a rectangular pit, while in the richer tombs the sides of the pit were strengthened with a kind of supporting wall made of branches or mud thus breaking the contact between the body of the deceased and the desert sand.

Whatever its form, the elite tomb has also been a multifunctional monument:³

- It marked the place where a deceased person had been buried.
- It enabled the deceased to remain part of the society in which he/she once lived, because, in order to continue living after death, it was important that the body of the deceased could be secured, and although titles were

I would like to thank Mr. D. Sexton (London) for going over my English; of course remaining errors are my own responsibility.

¹ Reisner, *Tomb development*, 1 states that the pit graves of the poor were oval while the pit graves of the richer tended to be somewhat rectangular. Tamorri, *Predynastic corpses*, 203.

² Hays, *Democratisation*, 130, states that the foetal posture indicates a belief in the rebirth in an afterlife.

³ LÄ, II, 827-37, s.v. 'Grab'.

important, it was also of the utmost concern that at least the name of the deceased was remembered.⁴

- It ensured that a place would be present in which the cult for the deceased could be performed.
- If the deceased had done things that he/she considered remarkable, a biography was placed in the vicinity of the chapel (usually on one of the door jambs).
- The monument not only demonstrated the social status and personal wealth of the deceased, but also that of his/her family.
- In the early dynastic period and the earlier part of the Old Kingdom the deceased was thought to live in and around the tomb (the body in the burial chamber and his/her *k3* in the tomb or in its vicinity) and in that way was actually still near the living.⁵ The Nagada III tomb *U-j* at Abydos is possibly an early example of a tomb with a substructure in the form of a palace, and is certainly of royal dimensions. In the inner-walls there are door-like openings that connect all rooms of the substructure (Figure 1).⁶
- The monument enabled contact between the *k3* of the deceased and the living (family, passers-by and persons performing rituals for the

⁴ As early as the 1st dynasty stelae bearing the name and sometimes a (crude) depiction of the tomb owner were placed next to the superstructure of the tomb (Bolshakov, *Double*, 31; Petrie, *Royal tombs I*, Plate XXXI; O'Connor, *Abydos*, Figure 83). In the entrance decoration the tomb owner sometimes asks, in addition to the 'normal' request for offerings given by the king and/or one or more gods (W. Bárta, *Opferformel*), if offerings can be brought to the chapel on specifically mentioned religious feasts. In this way too the deceased could stay part of the society of the living (O'Neill, *Setting scene*, 19, 39), because of the mention of his/her name and titles in the offering formula and because of the presence of people bringing offerings. The continued presence of the body of the deceased was a necessity, but because experience taught that grave robbery was a bitter reality, statues that could replace the body of the deceased in case of loss were placed in a separate part of the tomb (Clark, *Tomb security I and II*). One of the acts of *damnatio memoriae* was to remove the name and the depiction(s) of the deceased from the tomb (examples are the tomb of *hsj* in the Teti Cemetery (Kanawati, *Hesi*), the tomb of *R^c- wr* (El – Fikey, *Re'-wer*, 47) and the tomb of *s^cnḥwy-Pth* (Kanawati, *S'ankhuiptah*).

⁵ Kees, *Totenglauben*, 120–1. Bárta, *Journey*, 81. Junker, *Giza II*, 105. LÄ, VI, 759–77, s.v. 'Totenkult, Totenglauben'. The consequence of this was that the substructure of the private tombs of the 2nd dynasty was increasingly constructed as a complex subterranean structure that can be interpreted a facsimile of a house with rooms (Figure 1). The same is true for the two royal tombs of the 2nd dynasty that were constructed in Saqqara. Of the combination deceased / *k3* the latter was the mobile part that could have contact with the world of the living.

⁶ Dreyer, *U-j*, 34–5 states that these are doors that connect the rooms of a palace (although this is rather early in the overall development of this feature leading to the claim that it was introduced in the period II.E). It has also been proposed that these were doors to give the *k3* of the deceased the possibility to roam through the house and reach the adjacent warehouses in order to obtain its sustenance. This argument would mean that apparently in that period the *k3* was supposed to be unable to penetrate walls, while later the *k3* could obtain the essence of the offerings deposited in front of the false door by going through this, for the living, impenetrable passage.

deceased). In the chapel a living person could utter recitations and/or bring offerings, thus sustaining the *k3* of the deceased, because the *k3* could go from the burial chamber to the chapel and take the essence of the offerings.

For this last and extremely important function a specially marked place was created against the southern part of the eastern wall of the monument. Later on this 'meeting' place was protected by a building that could be interpreted as a chapel, but that was probably at first meant to provide some privacy (Figure 7), and later not only to protect the sign that marked the offering place but also the decoration that probably had been placed on the walls of the exterior chapel.⁷

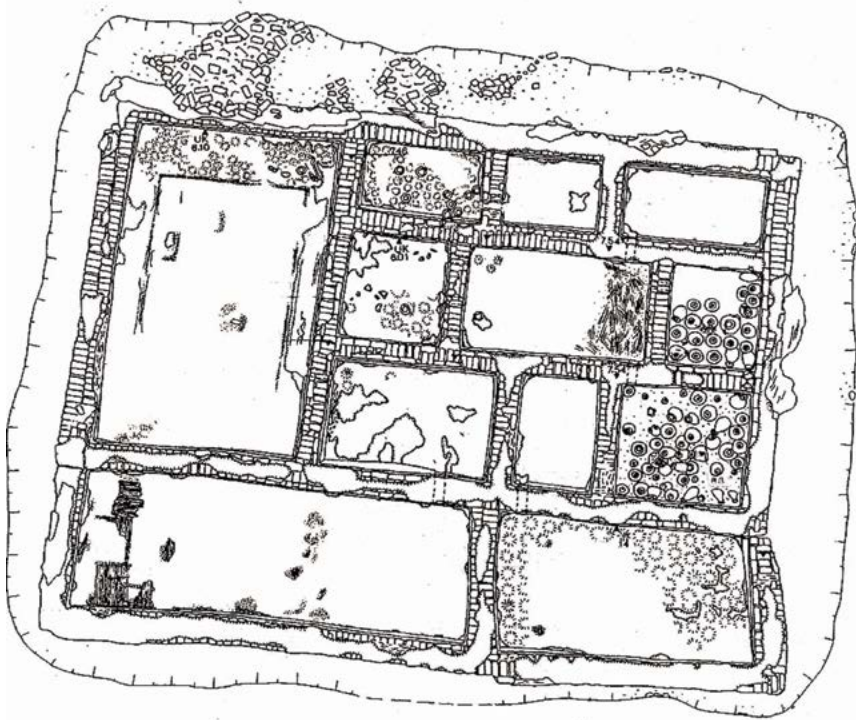


Figure 1. The tomb *U-j* at Abydos (after Dreyer, *U-j*, Figure 4).

⁷ If, in the case of a mastaba tomb, the chapel was constructed outside the body of the tomb, it was normally placed against its eastern wall; an interior chapel in the same type of tomb was constructed with its entrance at the southern end of this wall.

Due to lack of financial means these functions were less present for the tombs of members of the lowest social layers; these individuals were nearly always buried in a pit dug in the sand of the desert with some grave gifts next to them and a small tumulus over the pit (Figure 2).⁸

II. The form of the tombs

The most important features of a tomb are its burial chamber and its offering place, but over the course of time the architecture of the tombs further developed by the addition of new items and/or change in already existing ones.⁹ During the 1st and 2nd dynasty the tombs of the highest social strata resembled each other, understandably not in dimensions, but in architectural design. There was a further development based on the consideration that both royal and non-royal persons lived in the tomb (this enabled the non-royals to be close to the god (= the king). During the 3rd dynasty a dichotomy developed and the king was no longer considered to live in the tomb, while the non-royal persons continued to do so; this led to a change in the cemetery lay-out. The non-royal tombs were built closer to the royal tomb and the cemeteries were laid out in a strictly organised form.¹⁰

Members of the lower social strata of the Egyptian society were buried at first in oval pit graves, and later in rectangular ones which also had, like the oval pit graves, a small tumulus against which in the 2nd dynasty an offering place was constructed. Because these tumuli were prone to disappear due to the wind and the decay of the buried body, members of the richer social strata started to construct increasingly complicated structures not only to prevent that, but also to increase the overall protection of the grave.



Figure 2. Badarian pit grave 7021 (from Brunton, *Badarian*, Plate IX).

⁸ The position of the deceased was most commonly with the head to the south and the face to the west (Brunton, *Badarian*, 18-9).

⁹ Hassan, *Giza V*, 41-5.

¹⁰ Roeten, *Economic decline*, 12-5.

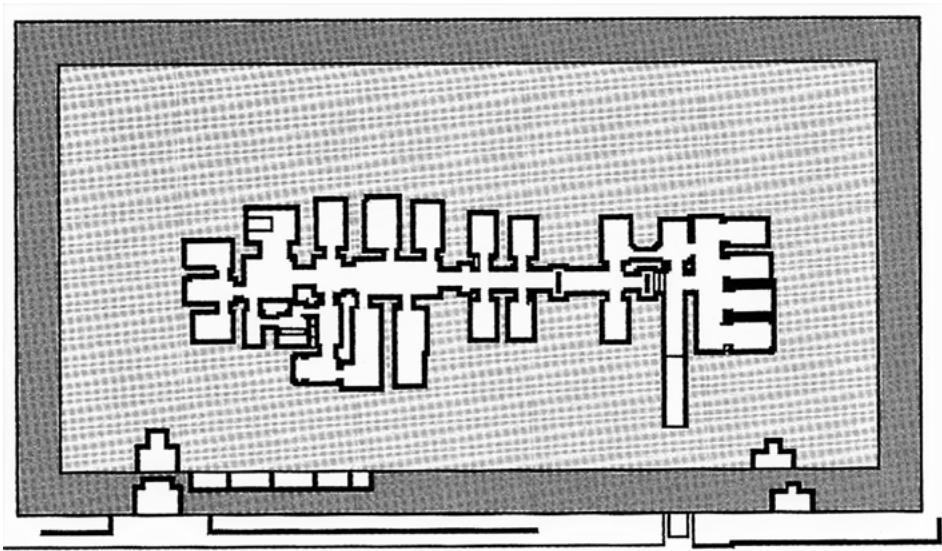


Figure 3. Super- and substructure of tomb S 2302 (*Rw-3b.n*; PM, III/2, 404; I.I.E, temp. Ninetjer (II.3)).



Figure 4. A cemetery of mastabas (Junker, *Giza I*, Plate IVa).

For the higher social layers there were two basic forms of tombs (elite tombs):

- The mastaba (Figure 4).
- The rock-cut tomb (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Rock-cut tombs at Saqqara.

A mixture of these two forms was also possible (e.g. the partly mastaba, partly rock-cut tomb of *Nj-ḥh-ḥnmw* and *ḥnmw-ḥtp* (PM, III/2, 741-4)).

The architecture of both forms of elite tombs can be divided in two main parts, which can be further subdivided. For the mastaba this is:¹¹

- The superstructure → The body of the mastaba.
 - The interior or exterior chapel
 - The jambs and lintel of the entrance.
 - ...The entrance thicknesses.
 - ...The walls of the chapel itself.¹²
- The substructure → The shaft or staircase to the burial chamber (or a mixture of both). The burial chamber, which from the early 2nd dynasty on started to change from a

¹¹ For an overview of the development of the tomb: Reisner, *Giza I*, Reisner, *Tomb development* and Reisner, *History mastabas*.

¹² The walls of some of these chapels bore decoration as early as in pharaonic period (*Hsjj-Ra*, S 2405, early dynasty III, PM, III/2, 437-9 (Quibell, *Hesy*). A second example is mastaba G 7510, early dynasty IV, PM, III/1, 197, East Field of the necropolis of Giza (Reisner, *Giza I*, 308).

simple room often with one or more storerooms next to it to a facsimile of a house (Figure 3).¹³

The architecture of the rock-cut tomb during the Old Kingdom consisted of a chapel cut into a vertical rock wall.¹⁴

Archaeological evidence has been found proving that over the entrance of the rock-cut chapel a (small) monument was constructed, often in the form of a mastaba (over the rock-cut tomb of *Mr.f-nb.f* at Saqqara-west the monument is probably rectangular).¹⁵ The architecture of this type of tomb can be subdivided as follows (see Figure 6):

- A court in front of the (nearly) vertical rock wall (tomb of *Dbḥn* (PM, III/1, 235 – 6); Alexanian, *Social status*, 4 – 5, Figure 6).
- The (interior) chapel → The jambs and lintel of the entrance.
The entrance thicknesses.
The walls of the chapel itself.
- A mastaba over the chapel entrance (which is the case in the funerary complex of *Mr.f-nb.f*, Figure 6).¹⁶
- The substructure → The shaft or staircase (or a mixture of both).
The burial chamber.

Various aspects of funerary architecture altered during the course of the Old Kingdom, but not every modification can be interpreted as the direct result of changing religious ideas about the after-life. There are changes that might have been provoked by more mundane considerations such as ease of construction, economic acceptability, protection against damage, etc.. Some examples of these changes are:

- During the 1st and 2nd dynasty the external open-air chapel was (nearly always) constructed against the eastern wall of the small mastaba like tombs in the cemeteries of Tarkhan (Figure 7) and Naga-ed-Dêr. In the 3rd dynasty the roofed exterior chapel was introduced, which became

¹³ The feature of a descending staircase with side chambers is already present in the tomb of king Qa'a (I.8) at Abydos (Petrie, *Royal tombs I*, Plate LX, upper).

¹⁴ This rock-wall could be natural like the eastern cliff of the Giza Plateau, or the result of quarrying, like the Khufu-Rakhaef quarry, which was created during the construction of the pyramids of Khufu (IV.2) and Khephren (IV.4) and the rock-wall south of the causeway of Unas (V.9), which was the result of the quarrying of stone for the pyramid of Djoser (III.2).

¹⁵ www.osirisnet.net. Merefnebef (page 1). Jánosi, *Giza 4th dynasty*, 313 – 4 gives some rock-cut chapels that also have a mastaba like structure over the entrance.

¹⁶ Other examples can be found in Simpson, *Gmast 2*, 1; Jánosi, *Giza 4th dynasty*, 313 – 4.

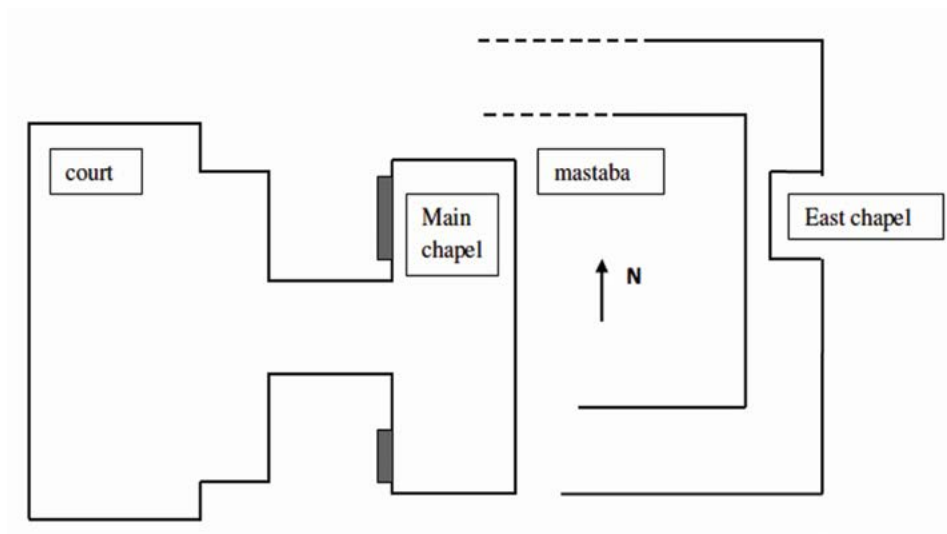


Figure 6. The plan of the rock-cut tomb of *Mr.f-nb.f* (Saqqara, west of the funerary complex of Djoser (III.2); schematically after www.osirisnet.net; the tomb of Merefnebef).

prevalent on the Giza Plateau during the reign of Khufu (IV.2).¹⁷ The construction of the open-air chapel might at first have been caused simply by the wish to have some privacy while performing rites in front of the offering place, but the construction of the roof-covered chapel indicates that probably decoration in need of protection was present on its walls.¹⁸

- In the course of time the grave pits became deeper and were provided with small walls to keep the sand out; eventually burial chambers were dug out in the rock underneath the desert sand.
- Initially the access to the burial chamber in this way was a crude staircase which changed, with a few intermediary forms, into a shaft. This change might have been caused either by a growing need to construct tombs in a more economical way,¹⁹ or by the need to make it more secure against tomb robbers.²⁰

¹⁷ Reisner, *Giza I*, 4.

¹⁸ Reisner, *Tomb development*, 239, 242; Ibidem 258 states that during the 1st dynasty the offering place (Reisner's *k3-door*) bore decoration, but, due to the small degree of inclination of the eastern wall of these mastabas, this was shielded by the roof of its niche and needed no further protection. This changed when decoration appeared on the walls of the exterior chapel, thus making the necessity of protection clear. As a consequence the southern offering place was turned into a cruciform chapel with decoration around its entrance.

¹⁹ The staircase to the burial chamber necessitated the preliminary construction of a large open pit while the staircase was being carved.

²⁰ Clark, *Tomb security II*, 312.

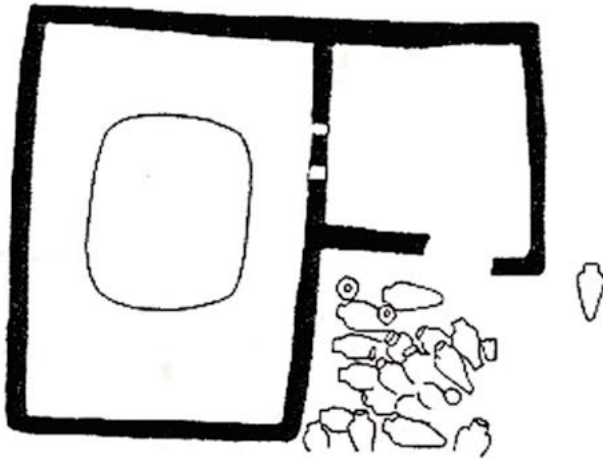


Figure 7. Tarkhan tomb 740 (Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, Plate XIV).

The introduction of the interior chapel can still be interpreted as a product of the desire for better protection of the decoration of the walls and the offering place. On the other hand, the change in certain aspects of the chapel must have been mainly caused by changes in the religious funerary conceptions.²¹

These sort of changes can be seen in:

- The form of the chapel.²²
- The dimensions of the chapel.²³
- The choice of decoration themes on the walls.
- The cultic meaning of the themes on the walls.²⁴

III. The decoration of the tomb

During the Old Kingdom a god was never depicted on the decorated walls of the tomb. Gods were only mentioned in the offering formulas that were written at

²¹ Petrie, *Royal tombs II*, Plate LXII shows the plan of the tomb of Udimu (I.5) which has a subterranean chapel (?) built against the southern end of the eastern wall. The room could also have been a serdab, while the chapel was built against it.

²² Harpur, *DETOK*, tables 5.1 to 5.13 (pages 315 – 22).

²³ A previous study by the author has shown that during the course of the Old Kingdom in the necropolis of Giza the chapels hardly change both in dimensions and in surface, while in the necropolis of Saqqara the width of the chapel increased markedly, due to the introduction of a narrow east/west oriented chapel (Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figure 108 (page 97)).

²⁴ Roeten, *Decoration*.

first on the architrave of the false door and, from period V.M on, also on its door jambs (apart from the king, the gods Anubis, the Great God and later mainly Osiris).²⁵ This offering formula could also be placed over the entrance of the tomb.²⁶

In the course of the Old Kingdom the decoration of the walls of the chapel changed markedly, examples being:

- The introduction of the depiction of agricultural activities on the eastern wall.²⁷
- The introduction of piles of food offerings on the western wall.²⁸
- The introduction of the offering formula on the jambs of the false door.²⁹
- The non-ideographic offering list moves from the panel of the false door to the western wall.³⁰



Figure 8. The entrance of the tomb of *W38-Pth*
(PM, III/1, 273; Hassan, *Giza II*, Plate 4)

²⁵ Roeten, *Decoration*, diagram VIII.14.Ann. (page 405) shows that the offering formula has always been present on the architrave of the false door, and diagram VIII.4.Ann. (page 402) that the formula was placed on the door jambs from V.M on, a development that can be traced back to the change in sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased.

²⁶ The lower register of the architrave of *W38-pth* reads: 'a boon which the king gives and Anubis who presides...' (Hassan, *Giza II*, 10) (Figure 8).

²⁷ Roeten, *Decoration*, diagram XV.12.Ann. (page 419).

²⁸ Roeten, *Decoration*, diagram IV.10.Ann. (page 400).

²⁹ Roeten, *Decoration*, diagram VIII.4.Ann. (page 402).

³⁰ Roeten, *Decoration*, Figure VIII.9b (page 487).

- The disappearance of the depiction of personified estates bringing goods into the chapel and to the western wall with its false door(s).³¹

The conclusion, based on the arguments given above, is that the sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased became more dependant on magic and less on the actual bringing of offerings.

IV. Chronology

The chronology of the Old Kingdom that will be employed in this study is given in Figure 9 and is identical with the chronology used by the author in previous publications.³²

Dynasty	Number	Name	Kings per period	Period
IV	IV.1	Sneferu	IV.1 – IV.3	IV.E
	IV.2	Khufu		
	IV.3	Radjedef		
	IV.4	Rakhaef	IV.4 – IV.6	IV.L
		(Baka)		
	IV.5	Menkaure		
	IV.6	Shepseskaf		
		(Thamphthis)		
V	V.1	Userkaf	V.1 – V.3	V.E
	V.2	Sahure		
	V.3	Neferirkare		
	V.4	Shepseskare	V.4 – V.6	V.M
	V.5	Raneferf		
	V.6	Niuserre		
	V.7	Menkauhor	V.7 – V.9	V.L
	V.8	Djedkare		
	V.9	Unas		
VI	VI.1	Teti	VI.1 – VI.2	VI.E
	VI.2	Pepy I		
	VI.3	Merenre	VI.3 – VI.4E	VI.M
	VI.4	Pepy II	VI.4M – VI.4L	VI.L

Figure 9. The chronology of the Old Kingdom employed in this study.

³¹ Roeten, *Decoration*, diagram IV.7.Ann. (page 399).

³² The names of the kings are written according to Verner, *Chronology*. The dynasty is given in roman numerals, and in the designation of the period the abbreviations E, M and L resp. mean 'Early', 'Middle' and 'Late'.

In this figure the king list given in Harpur's 1987 study has been followed.³³ The extreme length of the reign of Pepy II is difficult to fit into the scheme of dating. Harpur takes 85 years as the total length of the reign,³⁴ and she divides the reign into three periods designated VI.4, VI.5 and VI.7. In Figure 9 this is included as VI.4E, VI.4M and VI.4L.

V. The purpose of this study

In existing studies of the subject has been concluded that the main theme in the chapel is the offering table, a theme that from very early on in the history of Egyptian culture has been placed

- In the chapel
 - On the panel(s) of the false door(s).
 - On the southern wall.
 - On the western wall.
- On the entrance thicknesses until the period V.M.³⁵

An offering table scene on the eastern wall was unusual,³⁶ and so was an offering table scene on the northern wall.³⁷

Small chronological changes can be discerned in the appearance of the offerings table scene, notably:

- The form of the tray on which the offerings were placed.
- The type of offerings that were placed on the table.
- The leg of the offering table
 - The form.
 - The length.
- The number of loaves on the table.
- The form of the loaves
 - The presence /absence of the baking rim.
 - The length of the loaves.
 - The indentation of the loaves.
 - The final form of the loaves (loaves or reed plumes).

³³ Harpur, *DETOK*, 34.

³⁴ LÄ, IV, 927-9, s.v. 'Pepi II' gives 74 years as a corrupted hieratic reading of 94.

³⁵ Roeten, *Decoration*, Diagram XII.4.Ann. (page 407).

³⁶ Roth, *Gmast* 7, Figure 147.

³⁷ Hassan, *Giza V*, Figure 125.

Because certain scholars claim that some of these chronological developments are directly connected to the emergence of the cult of Osiris,³⁸ for each of the changes that might be connected with this introduction the relevant tombs have been gathered into catalogues. If a certain development needs a special methodology, this will be discussed in the chapter or section pertaining to it.

The criteria showing a chronological development are compared and an eventual connection with the emergence of the Osiris cult is discussed. These developments are also used to determine whether the cult emerged over a relatively short period, as some scholars claim, or whether the cult was already from earlier on latently present and thus developed over a longer period of time.

³⁸ Bárta, *Bread moulds*.

Chapter One

The table scene, a concise discussion of its development

The table scene has always been an important item of decoration in Egyptian funerary architecture, and a chronological development can be discerned in its employment.

1. The earliest representations of the table scene are on cylinder seals that, during the 1st dynasty, were placed in the burial chamber together with the other offerings;¹ these seals show a person,² almost always seated in front of an offering table on which one or more loaves of bread are depicted horizontally,³ but which are not shown as lying on the table, while one arm of the person is reaching up to the loaves (Figures 10A, 10B and 11).⁴ The loaves on the 1st dynasty cylinder seals give the impression not only of being whole, instead of the half loaves (*gsw*) in later table scenes,⁵ but

¹ LÄ, V, 1128-33, s.v. 'Speisetischszene', there 1128-9. Bolshakov, *Double*, 32 states that the cylinder seals with the offering table scene were introduced in Abydos not later than II.M; for offerings laid out in the burial chamber see Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, Plate 29. The placing of offerings in the burial chamber was still in use in the 6th dynasty (Bárta, *Sixth dynasty Abusir*, Figure 11).

² The first cylinder seals date to the Nagada II (Gerzean) period, but they do not depict the table scene. O'Neill, *Setting scene*, 17; Sourouzian, *Concordances*, Figure 15a (page 335); Petrie, *Scarabs*, cylinders, Plates I and II. The fact that the seals of the 1st dynasty as given in Petrie, *Royal Tombs I* (London, 1900), Plates XVIII-XXIX; and in Petrie, *Royal Tombs II* (London, 1901), Plates XIII-XXIV do not show a table scene might indicate that the seal with the table scene has a ritual meaning (Figure 7), while the seals without that scene have a secular function and might have been employed by the tomb owner or others as markers of property or provenance.

³ Von Bissing, *Opfertisch*, 72-9 cites 78 cylinder seals, of which the number of loaves connected to the table can be determined on 65: 33,8% of the seals show one loaf, 50,8% have two loaves, and 10,8% have three loaves, 4,6% of the seals have 5 or 6 loaves.

⁴ Stevenson Smith, *HESPOK*, 122-3, Figure 46.1-2; Sourouzian, *Concordances*, Figure 15b (page 335).

⁵ Hannig, *Wörterbuch*, Ä-D, 906 gives *gsw* as 'Brothälften (des Opfertisches)'.

also of having a flat bottom and a convex top side.⁶ The chronological development of the loaves baked in *bd3* bread moulds as given in chapter II shows that the ratio width (W) : depth (D) of the moulds that can be dated to the 1st and 2nd dynasty is approximately W:D = 5:2,⁷ this type of form produces this sort of more or less flat bottomed and convex loaf.⁸ This form of loaf has a direct connection with the hieroglyphic sign for bread (Gardiner X1); a connection that leads to the conclusion that this was the first hieroglyphic sign to have been used for the word 'bread'.

2. In the course of the 2nd dynasty the offering table scene was no longer exclusively depicted on cylinder seals but also on stelae (Figure 12). After that period, half loaves were placed directly on the table with the tomb owner reaching down to them (Figure 13). In chapter V the introduction of this new form of loaves is discussed in the context of its chronological development.
3. Undoubtedly the bread on the table was considered to be the main offering, but, according to von Bissing, on many of these seals other offerings like water and animals were also depicted (Figure 10B).⁹
4. Depending on the period a difference can be seen between the arrangement of the (half) loaves on the table: on the earlier stelae (Figures 12 and 13) the loaves point in one direction while on the later stelae of e.g. *Hsjj-R^c* (PM, III/2, 437-9; date: III.E) (Figure 15) and *R^c-htp* (PM, IV, 90-2; date IV.E) they are symmetrically arranged around a virtual vertical midline.¹⁰ The earlier offering scenes show that the loaves are placed in what looks more like a bowl than a platter.
5. On the stelae of somewhat later date (according to Figure 12 early in dynasty II) not only the table scene itself is depicted but also the name and titles of the tomb owner, while other offerings than loaves are added, although in a non-orderly manner. Not much later the series of signs and symbols becomes increasingly orderly (Figure 13).
6. From early in the third dynasty on, in case the tray on top of the pedestal was flat and without a raised edge, the rim of the halves of the in *bd3* mould baked loaves were depicted (see Chapter II).

⁶ Sparavigna, *Seals*, 17.

⁷ Kytnarová, *Bread baking forms*, 210.

⁸ Due to the baking process (Chapter II) the underside of the loaf will not be flat but slightly convex.

⁹ Von Bissing, *Opfertisch*, 78 [68] shows the offering table with two loaves on it, while next to the table two loaves are depicted which are not directly connected with it. Forms that can be interpreted as an animal and two libation vessels are also visible.

¹⁰ Harpur, *Maidum*, Figure 98.

Figure 10. Cylinder seal (dynasty I).¹¹Figure 11. Impression of a cylinder seal (dynasty I)
(Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, no. 42168).¹²

The dating of the Bankfield stele, an artefact said to have been bought in Thebes (1839) and which is now lost,¹³ is problematic. Junker proposes that this stele might be the first with a depiction of the offering table.¹⁴ Stevenson Smith

¹¹ The form that is attached to the head of the figure can be interpreted as a wig compared with offering table scenes on contemporary cylinder seals (Figures 10A and 11) (O'Neill, *Setting scene*, Figures 4a, 4b and 4c).

¹² The animals behind the person probably are cattle intended as part of the sustenance of the deceased.

¹³ Gardiner, *Funerary stele*, 257. This does not automatically mean that the stele has to originate from this place and Der Manuelian claims that the provenance is based on the round top of the stele (Der Manuelian, *Giza slab stelae*, 117).

¹⁴ Junker, *Giza II*, 16.

dates this stele to dynasty III based on his view that it is an example of poor workmanship,¹⁵ while Reisner dates it to the 3rd dynasty and possibly even to the start of the 4th dynasty, because he considered it a stele of the provincial type.¹⁶

A publication of the Griffith Institute at Oxford gives dynasty II-III as dating, and also claims that the stele belonged to a king's daughter *Mr(t)-Nt-htp*,¹⁷ while A. J. Morales gives the name *Mrj*.¹⁸

W. Bárta dates the stele to the end of the 2nd dynasty based on the form of the watering can.¹⁹

On this stele the bread on the offering table is completely independent of the type and quantity of loaves mentioned in the (inventory) offering list around the table scene; the linen list is also absent from the offering list.



Figure 12. Bankfield stele (early dynasty II; Hassan, Giza V, 86-8, Figure 13).

If the royal descent is combined with the claimed (doubtful) provenance and the various proposed dates, the following line of reasoning is possible:

¹⁵ Stevenson Smith, *HESPOK*, 142-3.

¹⁶ Reisner, *Grave stelae*, note 2 (page 329). Fay, *Royal women*, 107 states that this type of head covering is worn by female royalty (Fay, *Royal women*, Figure 30 (page 137)).

¹⁷ www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/8_ste001to050.pdf (no. 803-002-400). Gardiner, *Funerary stele*, 260 gives the following tentative translation of the name and titles of the person depicted on the stele: '.....*htp s3 hwt rhyt nsw* the translation beinghetep's son, the protector of the king's subjects, Marye', thus interpreting the stele as being dedicated to a male person. Hays, *Democratisation*, note 122 on page 130.

¹⁸ Morales, *Opferliste*, Figure 4 (page 60).

¹⁹ Bárta, *Opferliste*, 25.

- If the stele were to be dated to dynasty I (residing in Thinis), a provenance from Upper-Egypt would be possible and for a person of royal descent the execution of the decoration would be within the scope of existing artisanal skill.
- Dating the stele to dynasty II (also residing in Thinis) would still be within an Upper-Egyptian provenance, and the difference in date between the stelae of Figures 12 (II.E ?) and 13 (II.L) would make the change in the quality of execution of the decoration possible.
- A dating to dynasty III or early IV assumes that royalty resided in the Memphite area, a conclusion that would be in conflict with the supposed Upper-Egyptian provenance. Taking the quality of the decoration of this period into account (*Hsjj-R^c* (early dynasty III, (Figure 15);²⁰ *H^c-b3w-Skr* (PM/2, 449-50.; date: III/M – IV.E),²¹ it is improbable that for a person of royal descent a stele would be made of such a negatively divergent, inferior quality.



Figure 13. The niche stele of princess *Shmr*²² (late dynasty II, Cairo Museum JE 44135)(Hassan, *Giza V*, Figure 15; after Quibell, *Saqqara* 1912, Plates XXVI – XXVII).

²⁰ Stevenson Smith, *Art and architecture*, Figures 47 and 48 (page 62).

²¹ Stevenson Smith, *Art and architecture*, Figures 49 and 50 (page 63). Bárta, *Abusir XIX*, Plates 32, 33 and 34.

²² Hassan, *Giza V*, 92 states in a note that, according to Junker, *Giza V*, 43-4, the proper reading of



Figure 14. Stele of *Mr-k3.j* (late dynasty I); PM, III/2, 446.

The stele of princess *Shnr* consists of three parts: the offering scene with a somewhat chaotic offering list, which must, due to the quantities given, be interpreted as an inventory offering list, and two other offering lists. To the right is an inventory offering list giving quantities, but without compartmentation. To the left is an inventory offering list with lines only between the registers.

The six half loaves are standing in a bowl like container, and, as result the rims of the loaves are invisible. It is certain that by the beginning of the 3rd dynasty the *bḏ* baked bread was cut in half lengthway and the rim became visible (see Figure 15 below and *Hw-b3w-škr*, Hassan, *Giza V*, Figure 16).

The late first dynasty stele of *Mr-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 446; temp. Qa'a (I.8)) was found *outside* the tomb in front of the eastern wall of mastaba S 3505 and it is a stele stating name and titles and showing the deceased sitting but *without* an offering table in front of him (Figure 14).²³ The purpose of this stele is only signalling, and the lack of the offering table scene is in accordance with the conviction that existed during the early dynastic period that the offerings had to be placed in the burial chamber in order to be near the mortal remains (and the *k3*) of the deceased, either in their real form (dishes and canisters with food and drink),²⁴ or in a magical way (the cylinder seals with the offering table scene). This stele is more developed than the older non-royal Abydos stelae which only bear a name and sometimes a (rough) depiction of a human figure.²⁵

The depiction of the tomb owner on the stele of *Hsji-R* (Figure 15) differs from the norm in that, while sitting in front of the offering table, he is holding the paraphernalia of his social status in his left hand and, through the scribal tools over his shoulder, he is demonstrating his literacy.²⁶ Although over the course of the Old Kingdom the tomb owner could be depicted in the offering table scene in other ways than just reaching toward the objects on the table, depicting the tomb owner with scribal tools behind the table has never been widespread.²⁷ The stele of *Mtn* (Figure 16), the panel of a false door in a cruciform chapel has an arrangement consisting of a text line with titles and name, and under this

the name would be *Shfnr*.

²³ Emery, *Great tombs II*, 10.

²⁴ Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, Plate 29.

²⁵ Quibell, *Archaic objects II*, Plates 60, 61; Quibell, *Archaic objects I*, 290-6. Bárta, *Journey*, Plate on page 64.

²⁶ On four of the five wooden niche stelae that have found in the chapel of his tomb he wears the tools of a scribe (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, Plates 1426, 1428 -30).

²⁷ In the tomb of *Pth-htp* (PM, III/2, 600; late 5th dynasty) the tomb owner is seated at the offering table with a container of a scented substance in front of his face. In the same period the tomb owner could be depicted smelling a water lily flower while sitting in front of the offering table (*Nj-ḥḥ-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-htp*, PM, III/2, 641-4, plan LXVI, 12a). *Špsj*, PM, III/1, 121, date: dynasty VI) has a sekhem sceptre in his hand (Junker, *Giza VI*, Figure 62 (page 174)).



Figure 15. Stela of *Hsji-R* (early dynasty III; PM, III/2, 437–9; Quibell, *Hesy*; Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, no. 1426).



Figure 16. The false door panel of *Mṯn* (early dynasty IV; PM, III/2, 493-4; Hassan, *Giza V*, Figure 17).

a table scene with a ritual offering list in front of the figure, and a inventory offering list at the right side of the panel. The former would stay in use for some time, although by the start of the 5th dynasty the non-ideographic offering lists started to disappear from the panel, and only the ideographic offering list remained in the vicinity of the offering table.²⁸

This arrangement of table scene, ritual and inventory offering list can also be found on most of the slab stelae that have been excavated in the western part of the necropoleis around the pyramid of Khufu (Figure 17).²⁹

²⁸ Roeten, *Decoration*, diagram VIII.10 (page 404), Figure VIII.9b (page 187). For a further overview of changes of the decoration of the panel of the false door see Bolshakov, *Osiris*, 69-74.

²⁹ Der Manuelian, *Giza slab stelae*.

On the panel the depiction of the tomb owner sitting alone at the offering table is not mandatory, and during the course of the Old Kingdom several other possibilities became apparent:³⁰

- The (male) tomb owner is sitting at the left side of the table, looking to the right, with a female facing him and sitting at the same table (wife or mother) (Junker, *Giza II*, 182).
- The (male) tomb owner and a female are facing each other but each is sitting at his/her own offering table (Junker, *Giza VI*, 110).
- The (male) tomb owner and a male are facing each other but each is sitting at his own table (a son or the tomb owner himself) (Junker, *Giza VII*, 211 and Junker, *Giza IX*, 186).
- The (male) tomb owner is sitting at the left side of the table on a bench with a female behind him (Junker, *Giza III*, 129).

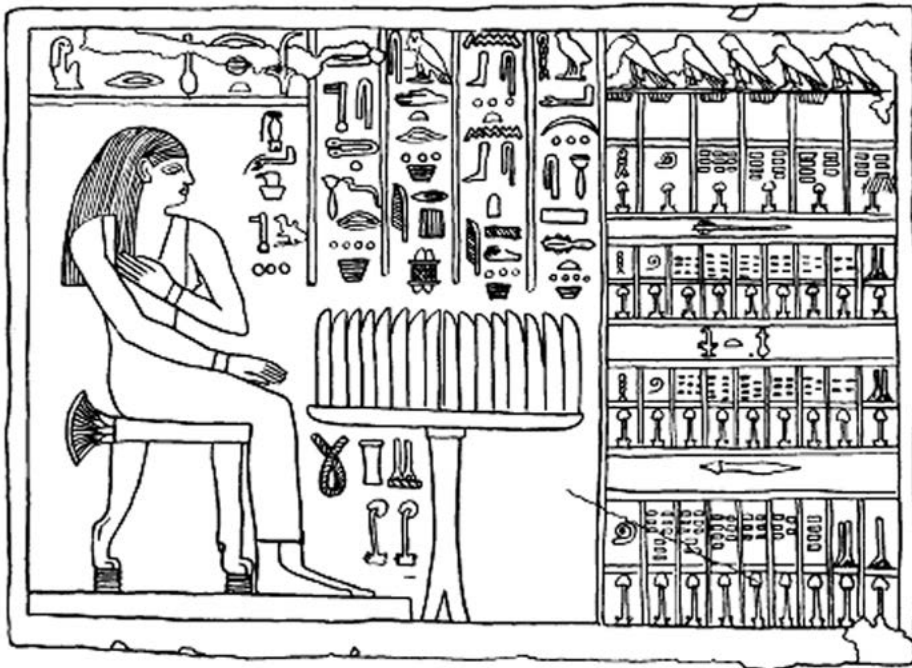


Figure 17. The slab stela of *Nfr* (PM; III/1, 58; early dynasty IV; Hassan, *Giza V*, Figure 18).

³⁰ For an overview of offering table scenes see Junker, *Giza XII*, Figure 3 (page 71). In this overview only no. 15 (*Špsj*, PM, III/1, 121, date: dynasty VI) has a sekhem sceptre in his hand (Junker, *Giza VI*, Figure 62 (page 174)).

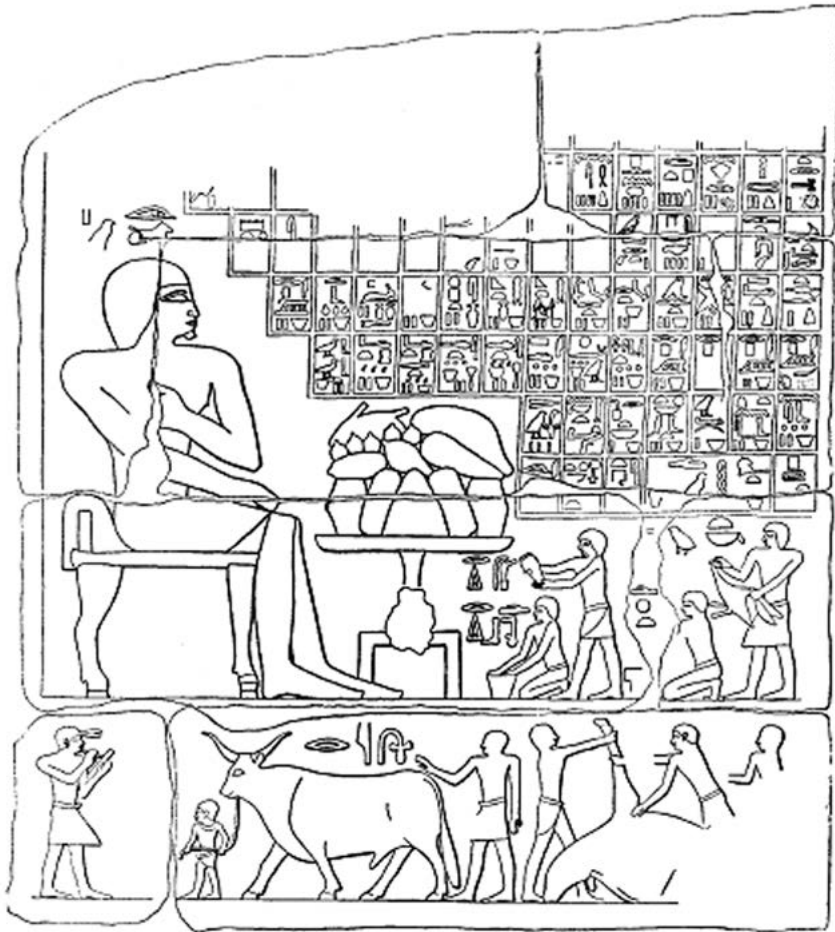


Figure 18. Offerings other than loaves. Chapel of *Irtw* (PM, III/1, 280; date: V.L – VI.E)
(Hassan, *Giza III*, 63).

- The tomb owner is sitting alone without an offering table in front of him/her, either with persons and text (Junker, *Giza V*, 139), or with just text (Hassan, *Giza V*, 206).
- The tomb owner is standing with another person in front of him/her (Junker, *Giza VI*, 203).
- The tomb owner is standing with text in front of him/her (Junker, *Giza IX*, 96).

- The (male) tomb owner, who is holding the flower of a water lily, is sitting on a bench with his wife behind him. There is no offering table in front of them (Junker, *Giza VI*, 245).
- The tomb owner is not present and only his titles are mentioned (Murray, *Mastabas I*, Plate 21).

The offerings on the table are not always loaves of bread alone; other items of food can be placed on them. (Figure 18). Items of food were sometimes depicted hovering over the loaves (Figure 19), or placed on a shelf over the table (Figure 20).



Figure 19. Offerings placed over the table without supporting shelves (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 1477, Plate 37).



Figure 20. Offerings on shelves. (Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 1422, Plate 23).

Chapter Two

The loaves of bread



I. The depiction of the baking process

During the period under study, the Egyptian dietary staple consisted mainly of bread and beer, which made these two products and their precursors, barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and emmer (*Triticum dicoccum*), important commodities, used in ritual, rations and as payment for services rendered.¹

Bread and beer were frequently produced simultaneously, because the same ingredients were used for both processes. Our knowledge of these two processes is extensive due to the fact they have been quite often depicted on the walls of ancient Egyptian tomb chapels (see Figure 21), and in 3D-tomb models that were placed in the serdab.²

The depiction of the baking and brewing process as found in the decoration of the western wall of the storeroom in the mastaba of *Tj* (PM, III/2, 468-78; Figure 21) is one of the most complete that is known.³ It is divided into seven

¹ Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhty*, 34.

² Jubelpark museum of the KMG (Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis (Royal Museums of Art and History)) at Brussels (E.07521).

³ Samuel, *Brewing*, 537.

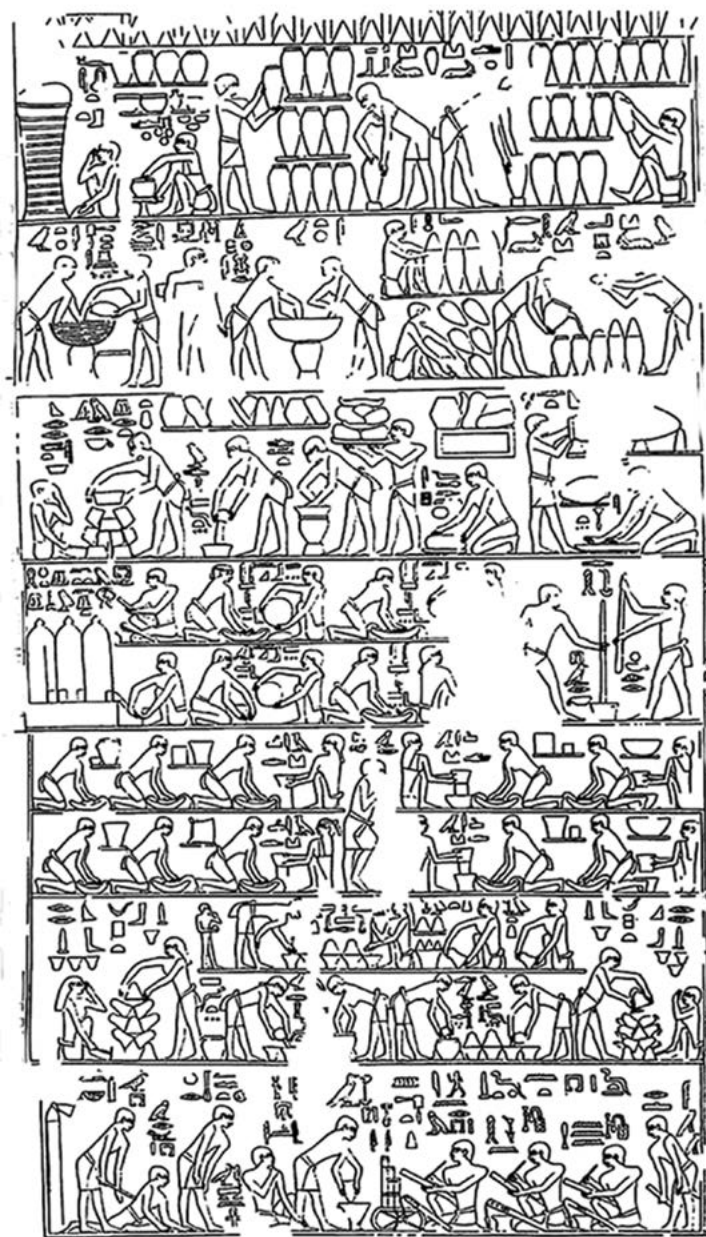


Figure 21. Decoration of the northern wall of the storeroom in the tomb of *Tjj* (PM, III/2, 468-78; plan XLVIII, room V, wall 32).

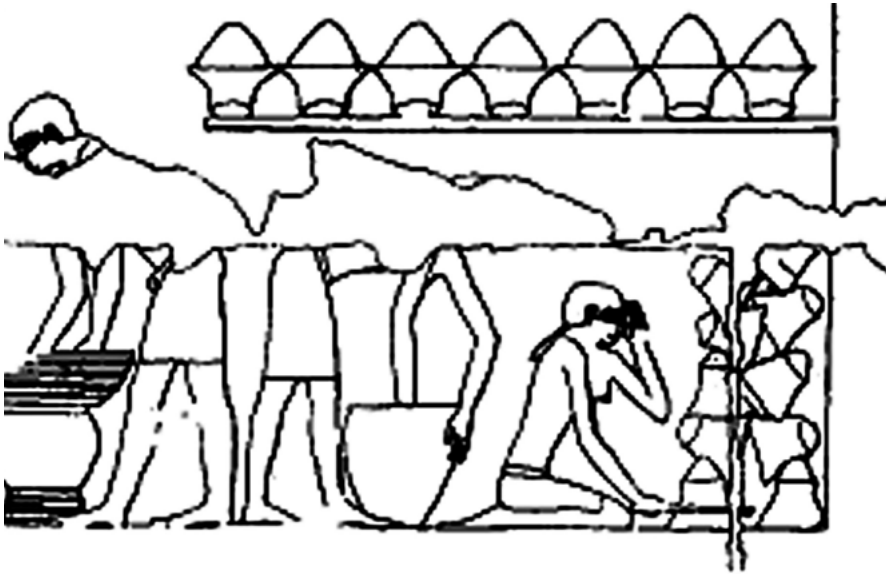


Figure 22. Pre-heating *bdj* bread moulds. (Tomb of *R^c-m-k3.j*, PM, III/2, 487-8; date: V.L).⁴

registers of which, counting from bottom to top register, three is fully divided in two sub-registers and registers two and four only partly so.

Register one depicts the activity of scribes taking accounts,⁵ register seven shows how the pottery, used for the brewing and baking processes, is manufactured.

Registers two, three and four are concerned with baking bread, while registers five and six show the divers steps of the beer brewing process.⁶

The same sequence of scenes has been placed on the eastern wall of the chapel of *K3.j-m-rhw* (PM, III/2, 485-7).⁷

Although there are other methods of baking bread, only baking in pre-heated bread moulds is depicted in the registers in Figure 21.⁸ The pre-heating in register five is in preparation for the production of beer, for which a different type of mould is used.

⁴ Hayes, *Scepter I*, Figure 54 (page 96).

⁵ In register one (left) the way the lower social orders are treated is depicted.

⁶ Samuel, *Brewing art*, 175-7 considers the depictions of the baking process unreliable because knowing the modern process of bread baking there will be a strong tendency to interpret the depiction from an etic point of view.

⁷ Mogensen, *Mastabas*, 31-9.

⁸ Samuel, *Brewing*, 539.

II. Bread moulds and baking

II.1. The pre-heating of bread moulds



Figure 23. Pre-heating *bd3* bread moulds (Tomb of *Nj-ḥnḥ-ḥnmw* *T ḥnmw-ḥtp*: PM, III/2, 641-4; date V.6L-7;). (www.osirisnet.net).⁹

A scene that is troublesome to interpret is the heating of objects on a fire (Figures 22, 23 and 24). For a long time this scene has been interpreted as part of the brewing process (apparently the same pre-heating scene has been depicted three times in Figure 21, on the left and right side of the second register and on the left side of the fifth register, but in reality in register 2 *bd3* mould are heated for the baking of bread and in register 5 *stt* moulds are heated for the production of bread as a step in the brewing process).

Hassan interpreted the heating in register 2 for the baking of bread, although the angle of the mould and the fact that the fire would be in direct contact with the dough, should have led to a different conclusion.¹⁰ Davies came to the

⁹ With the kind permission of Dr. Banderitter (webmaster www.osirisnet.net).

¹⁰ Hassan, Giza V, 219.

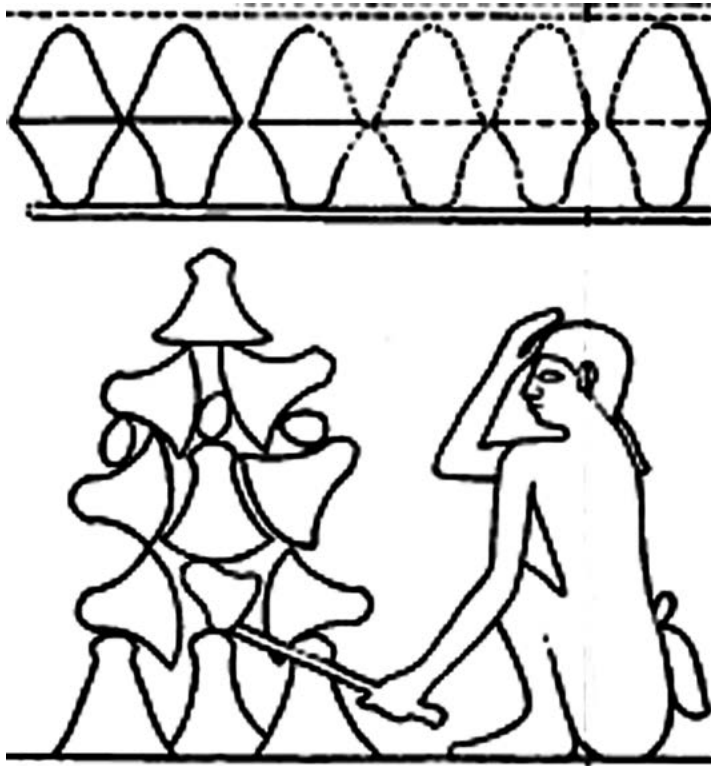


Figure 24. Tomb of *Sšmnfr* [IV] (PM, III/1, 223-6; Junker, *Giza XI*, 159; date V.9-VI.1).

conclusion that this was baking of bread for the production of beer, against which the same argument can be used.¹¹

Because baking bread plays a part not only in the production of bread, but also in the production of beer, the pre-heating scene is important, which is corroborated by the fact that in Figure 21 this scene is shown three times (once for the beer-production and twice for the baking of bread).

In nearly every pre-heating scene, either two-dimensional or three-dimensional, the person next to the fire is depicted with one hand raised. This is interpreted as a gesture to protect the face against the heat of the fire. This gesture is further discussed in excursion II.1.

¹¹ Davies, *Deir el-Gebrâwi*, 26. Hayes, *Scepter I*, 97 gives the same interpretation.

That not only *bd3* moulds were pre-heated can be seen in Figure 25 where another type of mould, the *ʕpr.t* mould, is heated.¹² The caption over the scene mentions *krj ʕpr.t* ('heating the aperet form'). In register five of Figure 21 *stt* bread moulds are pre-heated.¹³ Here too the hand of the person next to the fire is raised in what looks like a protective gesture.

In the west room of the tomb of *Mrs-ʕnh* [III] at Giza (PM, III/1, 197-9, G 7530/40; date Harpur, *DETOK*, 267[98]: IV.6) is a scene depicting the heating of both forms of bread mould.¹⁴

The scene of people working around a fire is not gender-determined because in the 2nd register of Figure 21 on the left side two women are busy pre-heating *bd3* bread moulds, while on the right side two men are doing the same. In the tomb of *Mrs-ʕnh* [III] this is done by a woman.



Figure 25. Tomb of *Jdw* (PM, III/1, 185-6; date: VI.E).

¹² Wild, *Brasserie*, 105; Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhty*, Figure 13 (page 46).

¹³ The fermentation necessary for the production of beer was initiated with pieces of bread that were baked at a moderate temperature in order not to kill the yeast present in it. Due to its great volume a *bd3* form could not be used to bake this bread and in Figure 21 the shallow *ʕpr.t* and *stt* forms are visible in registers five and six, in which the production of beer is depicted.

¹⁴ Dunham, *Gmast 1*, Figure 11.



Figure 26. A 1st dynasty bread mould
(Adams, *Tell er-Rub'a*, Plate 10, no. 1).¹⁵

This activity of pre-heating the moulds is depicted not only in two-dimensional relief but also in three-dimensional statuary.¹⁶

In the Memphite necropoleis this scene continues to be used until early in the reign of Pepy [II] (VI.3-4). According to the archaeological record, after that the scene is employed in provincial tombs until in the First Intermediate Period.¹⁷

The whole process of the baking of bread can be divided in several steps:

1. The production of bread moulds.
2. The preparation of flour.
3. Preparing the dough from flour, water and leaven.
4. The pre-heating of the bread moulds to cover the bread moulds with the dough in them.¹⁸

II.2. The bread moulds

The first stage, the scene showing the production of beer jars and bread moulds, is rare, and the literature supplies only four relief examples,¹⁹ of which one is not entirely certain.²⁰ In the serdab of the tomb of *Nj-k3w-Inpw* (PM, III/1, 300-1; date: V-VI), among other servant figures, the figure of a squatting man behind a potter's wheel has been found.²¹

¹⁵ With the kind permission of Dr. M. J. Adams (Jerusalem).

¹⁶ MFA 21.2600 (dated to the reign of Niuserre (V.6)); Berlin Museum inv. no. 1366.

¹⁷ From OEE, Scene 9.6.3.

¹⁸ The dough was quite liquid and could be poured into the upright standing mould, after which it was covered with a pre-heated bedja mould. A fire was lit around the mould with the dough (www.aeraweb.org/lost-city).

¹⁹ OEE, Scene 9.6.1.

²⁰ Bárta, *Abusir V*, 166, Figure 4.17.

²¹ Chicago Oriental Institute, no. 10628; (Teeter, *Egypt*, Photo on page 25). Probably the oldest depiction of a potter's wheel is in register seven of Figure 21 (Doherty, *Potter's wheel*, Figure 2.2 (page 6)).

The relative rarity of depiction of the production of the jars and moulds can be explained by proposing that this stage of the process has no strong connection

with the production of the food itself. In the tomb of *tjj* in the necropolis of Saqqara this scene is completely integrated into the overall production process (Figure 21).

There are two basic bread mould types:

II.2.1. The conical *bd3* bread moulds

The loaf obtained from the oldest versions of this mould (Figure 26) is depicted in its totality on the cylinder seals of the 1st dynasty, where its ‘floats’ over the offering table (Figure 10.A and 10.B). In a later period these loaves were cut in half and placed directly on the table (Figure 12). Some of the Helwan stelae that can be dated to dynasty I give the impression that whole *bd3* baked loaves with a side sliced off are placed on the tray of the table.²² The loaves on somewhat later stelae give a stronger impression of loaves lengthways cut in half.

The width/height ratio of the form exhibits a chronological development from W:H = 5:2 in the early dynastic period to 5:6.5 at the end of the 6th dynasty.²³

This type of bread mould was already in use during the archaic period.²⁴ The oldest pots are wide, shallow and rough on the outside but smooth on the inside, probably to facilitate the release of the loaf (Figure 26).²⁵ After the mould had been used for its primary purpose it was often used for a secondary function (containers, use as furnaces in the melting of copper, even as stoppers in the same process (Figure 38)).²⁶

Over the course of time this mould develops into a more conical form which can be found during dynasties III, IV and V (Figure 27). After this period the pot becomes much longer and less wide, to culminate during the New Kingdom

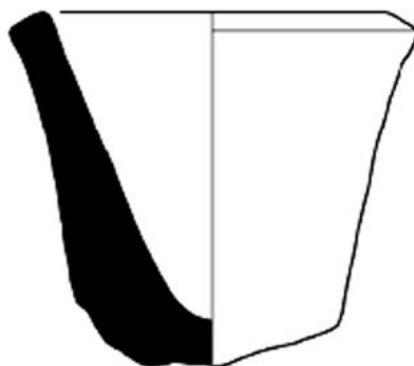


Figure 27. A 4th – 5th dynasty *bd3* bread mould (Adams, *Tell er-Rub'a*, Plate 29, no. 7).

²² Köhler, *Helwan II*, 139, 177 and 197.

²³ Kytnarová, *Bread baking forms*, 201. Jacquet-Gordon, *Bread moulds*, 11-2.

²⁴ Wodzińska, *Egyptian pottery II*, 106-7, photos 6.1 and 6.2. Garstang, *Reqaqnah*, Plate XIII, no. 2-4.

²⁵ Wodzińska, *Ceramic report*, 306.

²⁶ Wodzińska, *Ceramic report*, 308.

in an extremely long and small pot;²⁷ a development leading to an constantly increasing width : height ratio.

If a curve is made of the values of the width/height ratios, the result is a linear chronological development that demonstrates an increasing tendency (Figure 28).

The validity of this curve is tested by measuring *bdj* moulds that have been excavated:

- Garstang, *Reqaqnah*, Plate XIII gives two *bdj* moulds (no. 2 and 3); if the ratio is determined the result is 5:3.7 for mould 2 and 5:4 for mould 3. This places both moulds in the 3rd dynasty, corroborating the author's assertion in the title of the excavation report.
- Petrie, *Abydos I*, Plate XXIX shows in the column at the left some *bdj* moulds that are clearly not from the same period. If the six moulds counting from the top are referred to as A to F, the ratios are determined, and the thus obtained values are collected in Figure 29.

Assuming that extrapolation of the curve is permissible, it is evident that the ratio of mould A places it outside the pharaonic period and even in the period before the protodynastic period (dynasty 0), the archaic period (Figure 30).

II.2.2. The platter-like bread moulds

This type of bread mould can be sub-divided into the *pr.t* bread mould (Figure 28) and the *stt* bread mould (Figure 31).

According to K. Kytnarová the difference between *pr.t* and *stt* bread moulds is hard to define,²⁸ but the main idea is that the former has a straight to convex wall, while the latter has not only somewhat higher walls but also tends to be concave.

- The *pr.t* bread mould

During the protodynastic (Nagada III) and the early dynastic periods (dynasties II and III) this type of bread mould is rare,²⁹ but its importance increased from the 4th dynasty on (Figure 25 shows the heating of *pr.t* moulds). This type of mould was still in use during the New Kingdom.

- *stt* bread mould (Figure 32)

²⁷ Bárta, *Bread moulds*, 21-3. Jacquet-Gordon, *Bread moulds*, Figure 5.

²⁸ Kytnarová, *Bread baking forms*, 215.

²⁹ Bréand, *Protodynastic pottery*, 42 and Figure 31.

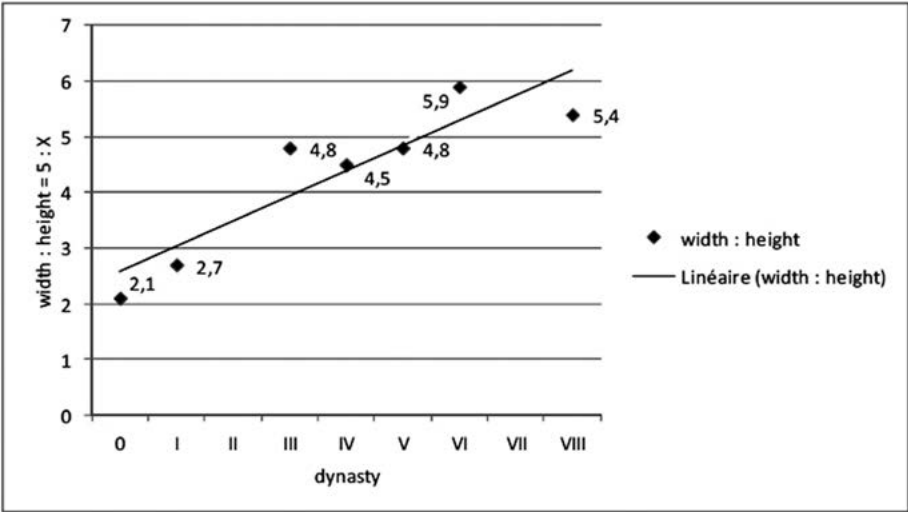


Figure 28. The curve of the chronological development of the ratio width/height of the *bdj* bread moulds (ratios determined in Jacquet-Gordon, *Bread moulds*, Figures 1-3).

Mould	Ratio	Period	Mould	Ratio	Period
A	5 : 1.9	Archaic	D	5 : 4.5	Dynasty IV
B	5 : 2.1	Protodynastic	E	5 : 4.5	Dynasty IV
C	5 : 2.7	Dynasty I	F	5 : 4.6	Dynasty IV

Figure 29. The ratios width : height of the moulds

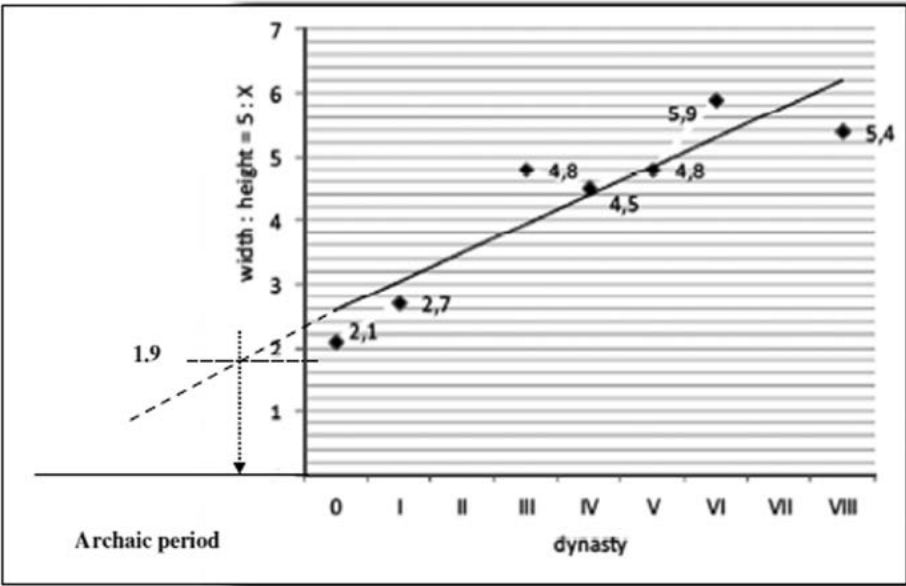


Figure 30. The extrapolation of the curve of Figure 28 into the archaic period.

During the early dynastic period and the early part of the Old Kingdom, this sub-type of bread mould was rare too.³⁰ From the beginning of the 4th dynasty, the frequency of use of this platter-like form slowly increased.

Excavations in the 4th dynasty workmen's village near the Giza Plateau and the pyramid town of the tomb of *Hntj-k3w.s* (PM,III/1, 288-9; G 8400; date: IV.L – V.E) have led to the conclusion that in the late 4th dynasty both the bread trays

and the *bd3* moulds were already in use. However, in the workmen's village, the frequency of conical bread forms was higher than that of platters, while in the pyramid town platters were more frequent.³¹ It might be concluded that the conical form was just employed to feed hungry mouths, while the platter-like form possibly served a more funerary and ritual purpose. In chapels offering bearers are often depicted carrying (wicker) baskets filled with conical and platter-like loaves,³² which means that although apparently there is a preference for the flat type of loaves, the conical type can be used as an offering too. A difference from bread depicted on the offering table is that the loaves from the *bd3* mould are brought in uncut.



Figure 31. The *pr.t* bread mould (Adams, *Tell er-Rub'a*, Plate 29, no. 8).

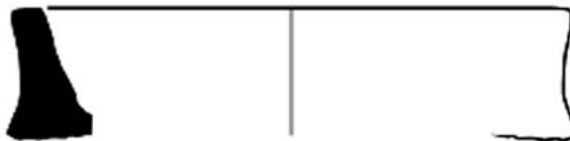


Figure 32. The *st* bread mould (Adams, *Tell er-Rub'a*, Plate 30, no. 8).

³⁰ Garstang, *Mahasna*, Plate XXX, no. 13 (from Bet Khallaf, tomb K-2, 3rd dynasty).

³¹ Lehner, *GOP* 5, Figure 17.24 (page 181).

³² Alexanian, *Netjeraperef*, Plate 17c (right).



Figure 33. Pre-heating of *ḥpr.t* and the *stt* bread moulds. Chapel of *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj* (PM, III/2, 593-5; Leiden, RMO, F.1904/3.1).³³

Like the *bdj* bread baking forms these platter-like bread moulds were pre-heated too as is depicted in the chapel of the mastaba of *Htp-ḥr-ḥtj* (PM, III/2, 593-5) (Figures 25 and 33).

With few exceptions, bread moulds were not placed in the burial chamber. If they were employed in a funerary context, they were nearly exclusively placed in the shafts leading to the burial chamber.³⁴

II.3. The baking process

The next step is the grinding of the corn, followed by the baking process itself from the preparation of the dough to the static process of baking the bread. According to the database, this scene is depicted in 34 tombs in the Memphite necropoleis. The archaeological record shows that the oldest depiction of the baking process itself has been found in the chapel of the tomb of *Mrs-ḥnh* [III] at Giza (PM, III/1, 197-9, G 7530/40; date Harpur, *DETOK*, 267[98]: IV.6).³⁵

For this study it is unnecessary to go into further details of the baking process.

³³ Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhty*, Figure 13. Beek, van de, *Hetep-her-akhty*, nickyvandebeek.com/2016/bread-and-beer-for-hetepherakhet/

³⁴ Römer, *Nezlet Batran*, 33 observes that during the 3rd dynasty the bread baking form was one of the most important gifts in the burial chamber. M. Bárta, *Minor cemeteries*, 296 states that in some tombs in the smaller cemeteries of Abusir South bread moulds were found that could possibly have been part of the funerary equipment.

³⁵ Dunham, *Gmast I*, Figure 11. The *bdj* bread mould has been depicted here.

II.3.1. The conical *bd3* bread moulds

The dough was poured into a *bd3* bread mould standing upright, and after the dough had risen sufficiently, a pre-heated *bd3* pot was placed over it and the whole was placed in charcoal which was then lit.³⁶ The fact that the second pre-heated bread form was placed over the standing one led to the formation of a rim (Figure 34).

During the baking process the bread expanded a little into the inverted bread form (dashed line). This leads to the formation of a 'rim' around the loaf (Figure 34). In depictions of the offering table with loaves on it, that can be dated to the early part of the Old Kingdom this rim is often shown (Figure 35), while later in the Old Kingdom the rim is no longer present as part of the loaf (see chapter III).

II.3.2. The flat *ʿpr.t* and *stt* bread moulds

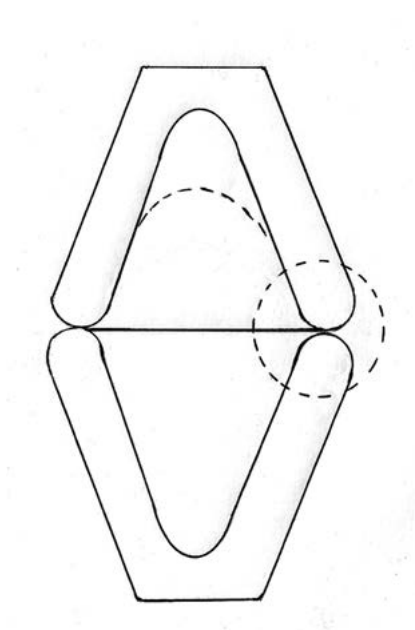


Figure 34. The formation of the rim and the 'foot' of the loaf (schematic, drawing by author).

In the 5th register of the bread and beer production relief in the chapel of *Tjj* (Figure 21) two men are busy pre-heating *stt* bread moulds (*krr stt*), while a man behind them is pouring dough into such a form.

If two of these forms were filled with a more solid dough, or with a dough that was already partially risen, and then placed, a hexagonal loaf was formed (*kmḥw-km3*) (possibly this type of bread is represented in register five of the relief).³⁷

In view of the shallowness of the platter-like forms, probably it was not necessary to place a pre-heated form over these bread moulds, indispensable for the *bd3* form because of the volume of dough it contained. In the tomb of *Mr.f-nbf* at Saqqara in the bread baking scene a caption

³⁶ www.aeraweb/lost-city-project/feeding-pyramid-workers; LÄ, I, 594-8, s.v. 'Backen' states that both moulds were pre-heated and that the nearly liquid dough was poured into the mould which was then covered by second mould.

³⁷ Burial chamber of *K3.j-m-ʿnh* (PM, III/1, 131-3), Junker, *Giza IV*, Plate XVII (centre of the photo). Eastern wall of the chapel of *Trw-k3-ptḥ* (PM, III/2, 639) (www.osirisnet.net, photo cm-27).



Figure 35. The loaves on the offering table on the slab-stele of *Nfr.t-j3b.t* (PM, III/1, 59-60; Louvre, E. 15591; date: IV.M).

states *wpt ʕprwt* (opening of the *ʕprwt* moulds) which would indicate that two forms are laying one upon the other.³⁸

III. The depiction of the form of the loaves

As already discussed in chapter I, in the oldest depictions of the table scene the loaves of bread were not directly placed on the tray of the table, but depicted horizontally ‘hanging’ above the table (Figures 10 and 11). Sometimes loaves were also placed in the vicinity of the table, thus serving as auxiliary offerings.

These early uncut loaves of bread, over and near the offering table, had the form of what would become the hieroglyphic sign for ‘bread’ (Gardiner X1; Figure 36A) and the loaves were represented in their entirety.

This changed into the other form of the hieroglyphic sign for bread (Figure 36B). This form represents the *bd3* loaf as it comes out of its baking mould, after it has been turned and a piece has been cut off.

As already mentioned, from early in the third dynasty the rim of the *bd3* loaf was depicted if the offering table had a flat rim-less tray on top of the pedestal (Figures 15 and 35).³⁹

³⁸ Myśliwiec, *Meref-nebef*, Page 147.

³⁹ On the Helwan funerary stelae, which are dated from the 1st up to and including the 3rd dynasty, the rim appears to be present in one stela, and the top of the table is flat (EM99-21, Köhler, *Helwan II*, 165, Plate 23).

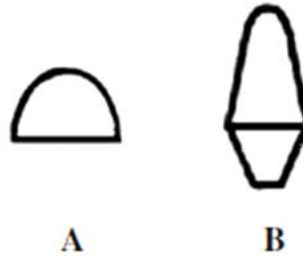


Figure 36. The two forms of the hieroglyphic sign for 'bread' (Gardiner X1 and X2).

Excursus II.1. The protective gesture

I. The pre-heating of bread moulds

There are many examples of this gesture, and usually the interpretation of the raised hand in this scene is that the person who is tending the fire is protecting his/her face against the heat,⁴⁰ but this interpretation is doubtful, because evidently this protection is not deemed necessary for the rest of the body which is almost completely unprotected.⁴¹ That the gesture is not a priori one of protection can be deduced from the following:

- The scene in Figure 23 clearly shows that the woman is *not* protecting her face against the heat of the fire, because the naked child is closer to it than she is. In contrast to three-dimensional depictions, where a hand in front of the face would make it invisible, in two-dimensional representations the hand can be placed in front of the face and the profile will remain perfectly visible. However, in the chapel of *Mrs-ḥ* [III] a person is depicted in front of a fire and he/she has the left hand against the side of her head.⁴²
- The statuette MFA 21.2600 depicts a woman sitting in front of a heap of *bdj* moulds in the process of being heated, but she is holding her hand at the left side of her head more in a gesture of boredom than of protection.
- Statue Cairo JE 72227 shows a woman sitting in front (a now lost) fire: she is turning her head and her left hand is lying against her neck. Perhaps here the turning away of the head is a sign of great heat.⁴³

⁴⁰ Kanawati, *Hesi*, 40; Junker, *Giza XII*, 120 also mentions sparks.

⁴¹ The eyes are more sensitive to heat than the rest of the face, and this might cause the protective gesture.

⁴² Dunham, *Gmast I*, Figure 11.

⁴³ Hassan, *Giza VI*(3), 180; Plate LXXVIII.



Figure 37. Part of the decoration of the northern wall of the storeroom in the tomb of *Tjj*.

- In the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum at Hildesheim statue inventory no. 2140 shows a man sitting in front of a fire on which he is pre-heating *bd3* moulds and he holds his hand at the side of his head.⁴⁴
- In the second register of the decoration of the storeroom in the tomb of *Tjj* at Saqqara (Figure 21) two fires are depicted (Figure 37). On both fires *bd3* moulds are pre-heated. The woman on the left side of the register has her hand beside her head, while the man on the right side has his hand in front of his face in the ‘usual’ protective gesture.

If this gesture has no meaning as protection against the heat since the rest of the nearly naked body is fully exposed to it, it might be explained by the supposition that the fierce glow of the fire made it extremely difficult to look at it. But this supposition is countered by:

1. The fact that raising the hand in that way does not diminish the influence of the glow of the fire on the eyes, and consequently does not improve visibility.
2. In Figures 23 and 24 the hand is raised too high to protect the eyes.



Figure 38. The (re)-melting of copper (?).
The tomb of *Pth-špss* (PM, III/1, 340-2; date V.6-7).⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Junker, *Giza VII*, Plate XXIIc.

⁴⁵ Verner, *Abusir I*, Figure 27 (Courtesy of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University, Prague); Preliminary report Abusir, Figure 29.

In item two the position of the hand gives the impression that it is raised to shield the eyes against the sun. This could be possible because, due to the prevailing north wind, the person tending the fire would be sitting upwind and thus looking south. However, like the workshops for metal melting,⁴⁶ bakeries are columned and roofed over and that appears to make this explanation less likely.⁴⁷ The smoke and heat created by the fire make it probable that this site was located leeward. This means, due to the predominant north wind, it was located at the south end of the roofed over construction, thus exposing the person tending the fire to the sun.

Baking bread was not bound to a fixed place, it could also be done in the open field, when an expedition stayed away for a longer time.⁴⁸

It is possible that in statuary the gesture of the hand at the side of the head is just due to the technical difficulty of having a loose arm in a sculpture. Usually the loose hanging arms were attached to the torso by means



Figure 39. The (s)melting of ore or metal in the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 525-34; date: VI.E).

⁴⁶ Dunham, *Gmast 1*, Figure 5.

⁴⁷ Lehner, *GOP 3*, 48.

⁴⁸ Moussa, *Nefer and Kahay*, Plate 5.



Figure 40. Flames around the double crucible (Chapel of *Tjj*, (PM, III/2, 468 – 78)).

of dowels.⁴⁹ If the arms were not made as separate parts they were somewhere in contact with the torso with or without negative space. If the hand had to be in front of the eyes it would have covered the face. The persons in statues Pelizaeus Hildesheim no. 2140 and MFA 21.2600 both have one knee raised and the upper arm is resting on the knee; this would probably have made it possible

to have the hand in front of the face without touching it, although in this case the face would hardly have been visible. The conclusion is that the meaning of the gesture cannot be determined in this type of statuary.

A plausible explanation is that the gesture was only added to the scene to show that the person was sitting next to a burning fire of elevated temperature, all the more because in reality it would have been possible to make use of a longer poker.⁵⁰

II. The melting of metal

This explanation seems to be corroborated by some scenes in which craftsmen are melting metal and give the impression of shielding their faces against the necessary intense heat of the fire (e.g. the tomb of *Mhw* (PM, III/2, 619-22)).⁵¹

⁴⁹ Harvey, *Wooden statues*, 118, 120.

⁵⁰ The radiation heat was sometimes shown as rays coming from the fire (*Nj-ḥh-Hnmw* and *Hnmw-ḥtp*; *Nfr* and *K3-h3.j*).

⁵¹ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 146, Plate 42.

However, during dynasty IV and the period V.E – V.M, the gesture was depicted in a way that showed that it did not serve to protect the face but was rather just to hold the blowing reed with two hands, one of them close to the mouth (Figure 38). From the end of the 5th dynasty the blowing reed was held with one hand and the other was raised in a gesture that seemed intended to protect the face in some depictions.⁵² As has already been noted of baking bread, melting ore or metal also was done under a protective roof.⁵³

There are indications that the melting technique changed at the end of the 5th dynasty (around V.6-7). This assumption is based on the following considerations:

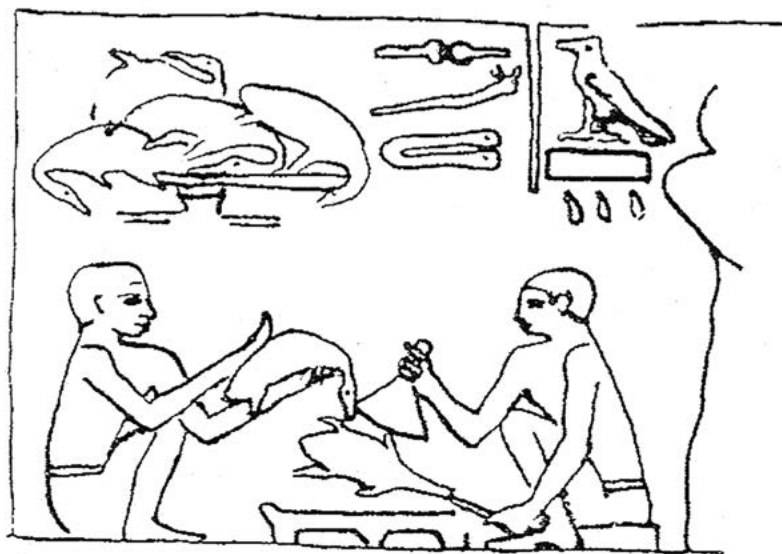


Figure 41. The grilling of poultry.
(Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhty*, Figure 43).⁵⁴

⁵² Davey, *Metallurgy*, 87 states that the fire to melt the ore was inside the crucible and not outside. The workers were blowing into a small opening, and it can be concluded that the heat and the glare of the fire was not so fierce that a protective gesture was really necessary.

⁵³ Dunham, *Gmast 1*, Figure 5.

⁵⁴ The person on the left is apparently preparing the bird which is then grilled by the person on the right side (Mohr, *Hetep-her-akhty*, 78).

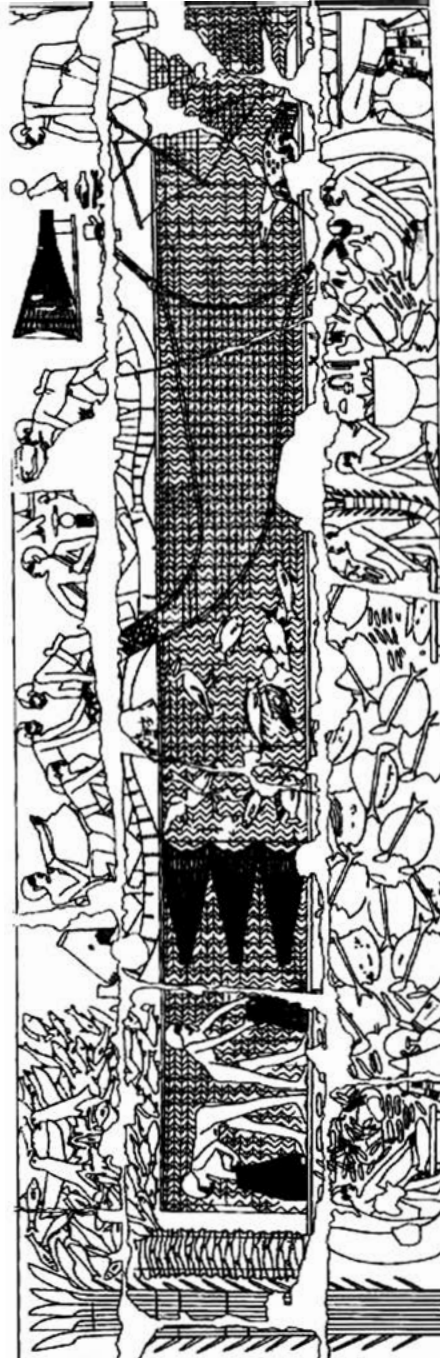


Figure 42. Moussa, *Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep*, Tafel 37b.

- In the tomb of *Mrs-ḥnh* [III] (PM, III/1, 197-9; date IV.6) the crucible in which the ore is melted has a round top, which could be a *bdj* pot.⁵⁵
- In the tomb of *Pth-šps* (PM, III/1, 340-2) the fire is covered with what appears to be several *bdj* pots to confine the heat (Figure 38).⁵⁶
- It appears that during the transition from V.M to V.L the *bdj* pots on the fire changed from a couple of smaller ones to one larger pot or a flat cover (Figure 39), thus closing the crucible better, which made it possible to reach higher temperatures in a shorter time. This might have been the change in firing technique which exposed the craftsmen to a higher temperature.⁵⁷ However, it is more plausible that there was no such change in technique, and that the change in gesture is based on a misinterpretation of the intent of the hand near the face.

It is likely that these gestures were intended to convey the idea that these persons were working with high temperatures, all the more since in the chapel of *Tjj* (PM, III/2, 468 – 78) and in the chapel of *Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw* and *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* (PM, III/2, 641 – 4) the outside of the crucible is covered in flames (Figure 40).

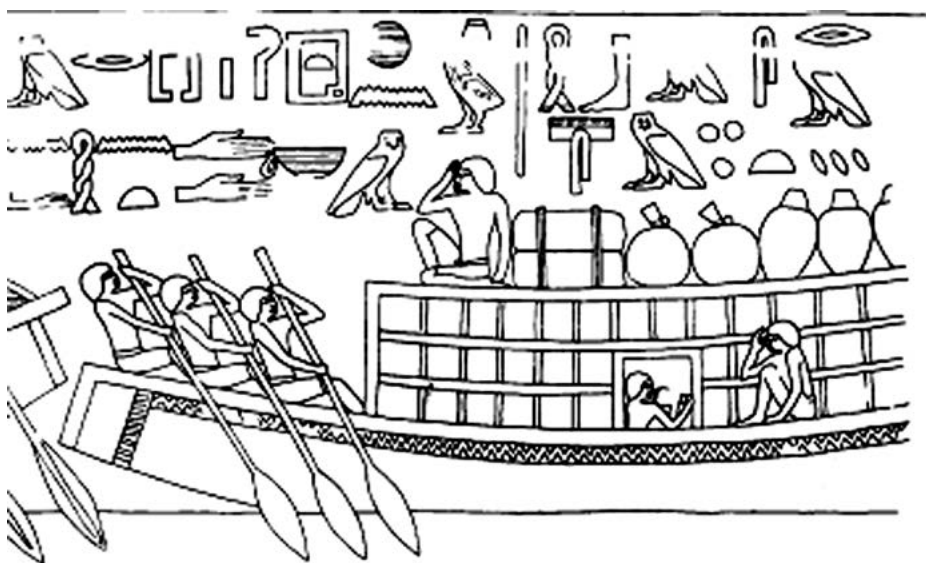


Figure 43. Protecting against the sun in the tomb of *Pth-šps* (PM, III/1, 340-2; date V.6-7) (Verner, *Abusir I*, Figure 2).⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Dunham, *Gmast I*, Figure 5.

⁵⁶ Verner, *Abusir I*, 52 states that on the fire *bdj* pots were placed to confine the heat of the fire (the crucible is depicted although covered by the pots). This might be the reason that a protective gesture was not necessary.

⁵⁷ Davey, *Crucibles*, 150-1.

⁵⁸ Courtesy of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University, Prague.

III. The grilling and cooking of meat

In the scenes of the grilling or cooking of meat, this 'protective' gesture is extremely rare, because the person doing the grilling or cooking usually holds, in the case of grilling, a spit in one hand and a fan in the other (Figure 41), in the

case of cooking only a fan.⁵⁹ It is likely that in this type of scene the 'protecting' gesture was not deemed necessary because the temperature of the fire could not have been too elevated without risking burning the meat.

In the mastaba of *Nb-k3w-Hr* (PM, III/2, 627-9) part of the decoration of the northern wall of the pillared hall shows a man cooking geese; he is standing next to a brazier and is fanning the fire within. He holds the fan with both hands thus showing that the protective gesture was not necessary during this activity.⁶⁰

On the southern wall of the first room in the tomb of *Nj-ʕnh-hnmw* (PM, III/2, 641-4) in one of the registers a person is cooking fish on a standard that appears to be made of *bd3* bread moulds. Despite this arrangement exposing him more to the heat of the fire, he does not make the protective gesture (Figure 42).

IV. The protective gesture on ships

In the tomb of *Pth-šps* (PM, III/1, 340-2) five southward bound ships are depicted and on one of them two members of the crew are making a gesture as if they are protecting their eyes against the sun (Figure 43).⁶¹ One of the figures is undoubtedly a lookout and has to protect his eyes against the sun or the sheen of the light on the water in order to be able to see what happens at a greater distance. The same gesture is depicted in the chapel of *Mr.s-ʕnh* [III] (PM, III/1, 197-9) and in the chapel of *K3-nj-nswt* [I] (PM, III/1, 78-9; Junker, *Giza II*, Plate IX).⁶²

The observation that this gesture, which is interpreted as protection against the heat of a fire, is also present on ships where no fire is burning, corroborates the hypothesis that the gesture is meant to shield the eyes against the glaring sun.

The decoration conventions that are in force regarding this so-called protective gesture need further consideration which is beyond the scope of this study.

⁵⁹ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, 109-10, Plate 16b.

⁶⁰ El-Kerety, *Nebhauhor*, 3 and Figure 7.

⁶¹ Verner, *Abusir I*, Figure 3.

⁶² Dunham, *Gmast I*, Figure 5; Der Manuelian, *Gmast* 8, Figure 13.41; another example is Junker, *Giza II*, Figure 22 (page 156).

Chapter Three

About the loaves of bread on the offering table...

Part I

I. The chronological development of the number of loaves on the offering table

I.1. The development during dynasties I, II and III

I.1.1. The early and middle period of dynasty I

As mentioned in chapter I probably the oldest depictions of the offering table scene have been found on cylinder seals that can be dated to the first part of dynasty I, placed in the burial chamber as part of the offerings for the deceased. On the cylinder seals that show the offering scene the number of loaves of bread vary between one and three with two loaves in 53% of the scenes.¹ Of the total of 78 cylinder seals that have been gathered by von Bissing, 58 have an offering table on which loaves were placed (the form of the loaves has been considered as a decisive criterion, and only loaves that could be interpreted as being convex-flat have been included in the catalogue (only the offering scene on cylinder seal no. 59 has a triangular loaf)).

The mean value of the number of loaves is 1.8 and the mean deviation is ± 0.5 .

I.1.2. Middle and late dynasty I, dynasties II and III

Several scholars have studied the existence of a possible chronological connection between the number of loaves on the offering table and the period in which the depiction has been made and/or used.² W. Bárta states that a

¹ Von Bissing, *Opfertisch*, 72-9.

² Köhler, *Helwan II*, 35-6.

chronological development in the number of loaves could be discerned, while Kaplony denies this.³

If the Helwan stelae are chronologically ordered,⁴ Table II is obtained.⁵

From Table II it can be deduced that during the 2nd dynasty the number of loaves was particularly random, but from this table it cannot be concluded whether stelae with different numbers of loaves coexisted.

In order to answer the question about the chronological development the stelae in Table II are ordered with the number of loaves on the table as a criterion.

In Table II five stelae have an anomalous dating in connection with the number of loaves on the offering table (these stelae are indicated in gray in the period-column). Due to the inherent unreliability of an ordering of this type,⁶ the placement in the ordering is further studied as to these stelae can be shifted to another period without seriously disturbing it:

- S01-37 (grey field no.1) is dated to the period II.E although four loaves instead of three are placed on the table. The point of S01-17 can be placed lower in the table, thus attaining the placement of stelae EM99-15 and EM99-17.
- EM97-43 (grey field no.5) can be placed in the vicinity of the points of stelae EM99-4 and EM99-18.
- EM99-11 (grey field no. 2) is close enough to the point of EM99-22 to allow for a re-dating of EM99-11 to period II.M.
- EM99-30 (grey field no. 3) and EM05-100 (grey field no. 4) form such a small group that a re-dating to III is possible without seriously disturbing the order of the points.

When these alterations are introduced into Table III an ordering is obtained as given in Table IIIa:

In Table III.b the period-group II.E – II.M with three loaves has a chronological equivalent counterpart with five loaves. The period-group II.M – II.L shows the same chronological equivalence, but now for four and six loaves.

³ Bárta, *Opferliste*, 11; Kaplony, *Inschriften*, 238.

⁴ Köhler, *Helwan II*, 122-203.

⁵ The number of loaves depicted on false door stelae of which the dating is somewhat more secure has been added to the catalogue.

⁶ Köhler, *Helwan II*, 23-4 and Figure 6.

From Table III.c it can be concluded that during the 2nd dynasty two different number of loaves co-existed. For this basically three explanations are possible:

- A free choice was possible between the quantities of loaves on the table.
- The difference stems from a difference in social importance (see also sections I.3.2 and I.3.7).
- The difference might be sex-linked, but further research has suggested that this explanation is invalid.

It can be concluded too that in the course of dynasty II a development towards a higher number of loaves on the table was evident, and that this development continued during the 3rd dynasty, although not with two groups of quantities.

I.2. The development during the Old Kingdom

I.2.1. Methodology



Figure 44. The stele from tomb Helwan 381H8.

In Tables II and III.a/b/c a population of datable stelae has been gathered for dynasties I - III, while in Table I for every period of the Old Kingdom that is the subject of this study (dynasties IV -VI) an acceptable population of datable tombs has been brought together. For every tomb the number of loaves of bread that are placed on the offering tables depicted on the walls is determined.

This scene can be found on the following walls or architectural elements of the tomb:

- The four walls of the chapel.
- On the panel of the false door(s) against the western wall.
- On the entrance thicknesses.⁷
- On the architrave over the entrance of the chapel.
- On the architrave over doors between the various rooms that make up the chapel.
- On the eastern exterior wall of the tomb.

However, in the catalogue of Table I, no distinction has been made as to what type of wall the offering table scene was placed on.

In every offering table scene mentioned in table I the number of loaves of bread is determined. For the periods mentioned in the table the mean value μ of the number is calculated with the following formula:⁸

$\mu = (\Sigma x) / n$ in which:

- x is the number of loaves of bread on the offering table.
- n is the number of offering scenes that have been included in the period.
- Σ is the symbol of the sum of all the values mentioned under it.

The next step is the calculation of the mean deviation 'm'; this is calculated by determining for every offering scene the difference in absolute value between the actual value x and the mean μ ; all of these absolute values are added and the sum is divided by the number of scenes. This calculation is given by the following formula:

$m = (\Sigma |x - \mu|) / n$ in which:

⁷ An example of an offering table scene on a jamb of the entrance of the chapel is in the tomb of *Htpj* (Bárta, *Abusir XIX*), Plates 10 and 18.

⁸ Moroney, *Figures*, 60-2.

dynasty	$\mu \pm m$	min/max values	remarks	Values rejected
I.E - I.M	1.8 \pm 0.5	1.3 – 2.3	Cylinder seals	
I.M – II.E	3.0 \pm 0.0	3.0 – 3.0	Helwan stelae	
II	4.4 \pm 0.9	3.5 – 5.3	Helwan stelae	
III	7.5 \pm 0.9	6.6 – 8.4	Helwan stelae	
IV.E	12.0 \pm 2.6	9.4 – 14.6	---	
IV.M - IV.L	12.4 \pm 1.8	10.6 – 14.2	---	18 loaves
V.E	10.7 \pm 2.3	8.4 – 13	---	
V.M	11.8 \pm 1.9	9.9 – 13.8	---	6, 18, 19 loaves
V.L	13.3 \pm 3.0	10.3- 16.3	---	22, 25 loaves
VI.E	15.5 \pm 3.1	12.4 – 18.6	---	26 loaves
VI.M – VI.L	12.8 \pm 2.8	10 – 15.6	---	22, 26 loaves

Figure 45. Resulting mean values (μ) and mean deviations (m) of the number of loaves per period.

- the symbol $| |$ means that whatever the sign of the difference between x and μ , the value is taken as positive (= absolute value).

In some offering scenes the number of loaves of bread seems to be extremely high or low compared to the calculated average value. In order to determine whether or not a value can be allowed in the total calculation the standard deviation 's' of the period-group should be calculated by way of the formula:

$$s = \sqrt{[\sum (x - \mu)^2] / n}$$

once the standard deviation of the whole group has been calculated, the eccentricity 'u' of a value can be determined with the following formula:

$$u = (x - \mu) / s$$

For this study an eccentricity higher than 1.96 has been declared unacceptable and the value belonging to this eccentricity will be rejected from the calculation.

1.2.2. The results for dynasties I to VI

In Figure 45 the resulting mean values (μ) and mean deviations (m) for the periods under study are gathered from Tables I and III.

In Figure 46 the μ values together with their mean deviation values 'm' (forming the 'm-line') from Figure 45 have been drawn in a diagram. Evidently it is not

possible to draw a calculated straight line through the μ values, but a polynomial that touches either a μ value or an 'm-line' can be placed in the diagram.⁹

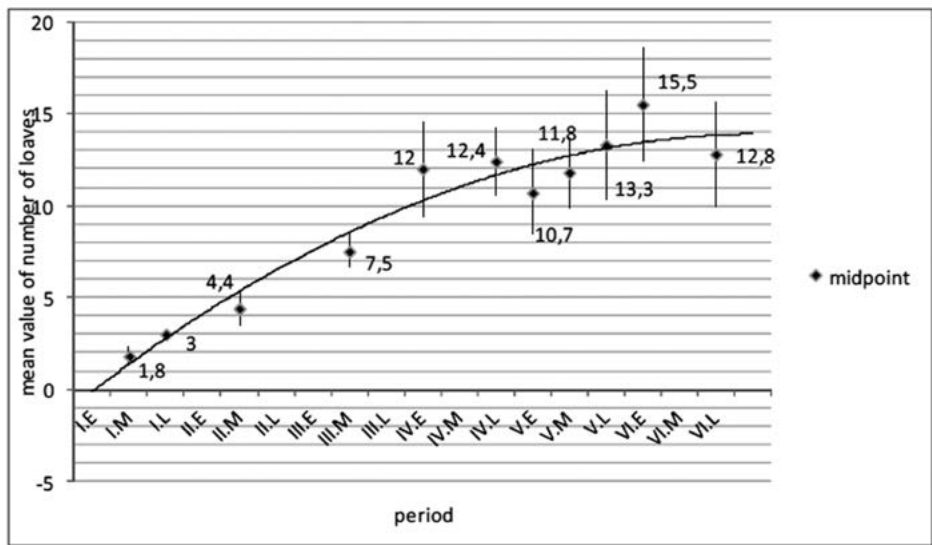


Figure 46. Mean value of number of loaves with their mean-deviation.

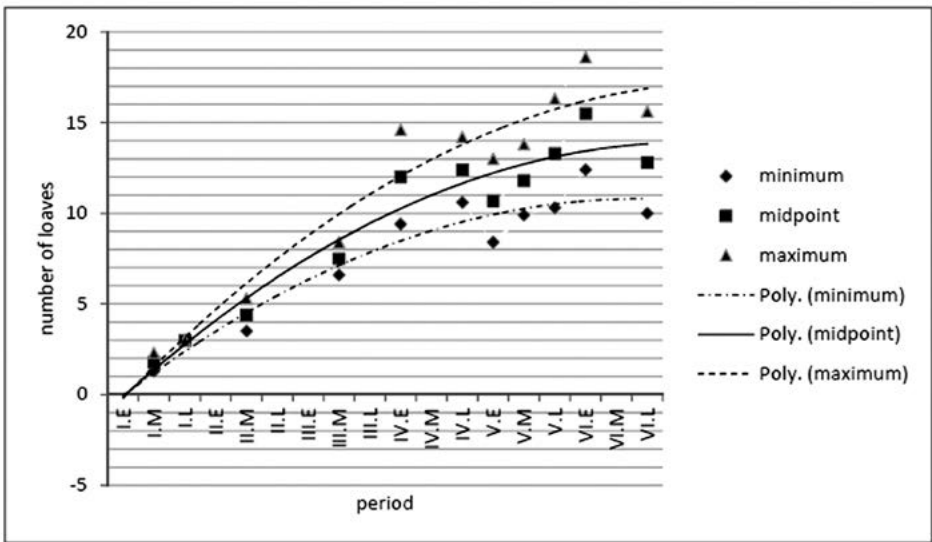


Figure 47. Mean value of the number of loaves with the polynomials of the maximum, minimum and midpoint values.

⁹ A polynomial is the mathematical expression of the curve that connects a set of points in such a way that the sum of the squares of the differences between the points and their corresponding

This shows that the number of loaves of bread on the offering table has a chronological development during the period under study.

Within certain limits the curves of Figures 46 and 47 can be used to check the dating of tombs that have an offering table scene that allows the number of loaves to be determined.¹⁰

1.3. Some dating checks based on the number of loaves of bread

1.3.1. The early stelae

The offering table on the stele of *Nb-k3* (RMO, Leiden (The Netherlands), inventory no. F 1960/7.1, 2nd dynasty) has four loaves on it and according to Figure 46 this places the stele in the period II.E, in Figure 47 the date is I.L – II.E.¹¹

The stele of *Hkn* (Helwan tomb 381H8) has four loaves on the table, which dates it to the period II.M – II.L (Figure 44). This date corresponds with the date given to the stele

The stele of *Ndn* (UC 14444; dynasty II; provenance Saqqara or Helwan) has five loaves on the table, and this would give a dating of II.E – II.L, which corresponds with the given date.

The stele of *3bnb* (RMO, Leiden (The Netherlands), inventory no. AM 10-c, dynasty III) has six loaves on the table, and can thus be dated to II.M – III.E, which is a little earlier.

1.3.2. The slab stele of Stw.¹²

Although this stele, which was found in shaft B of mastaba G 2352, has a lot in common with the slab stelae dating to the 4th dynasty, some characteristics of the depiction might indicate a date later than the period in which slab stelae were employed in the chapels of the mastabas of the necropoleis around the pyramid of Khufu.¹³

points on the curve is closest to zero. The ‘m-line’ is the line that connects the three points of a value: the midpoint, the maximum and the minimum value.

¹⁰ A date that has to be determined by a number of loaves that indicates a later period of the Old Kingdom is, due to the flattening of the curve, less reliable.

¹¹ www1.ivv1.uni-muenster.de/litw3/.../i_standard_kurzanzeige_DP.php?Date_Period.. gives a date of I.L – II.E.

¹² MFA, Boston 13.4341.

¹³ Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, 109-11; 236

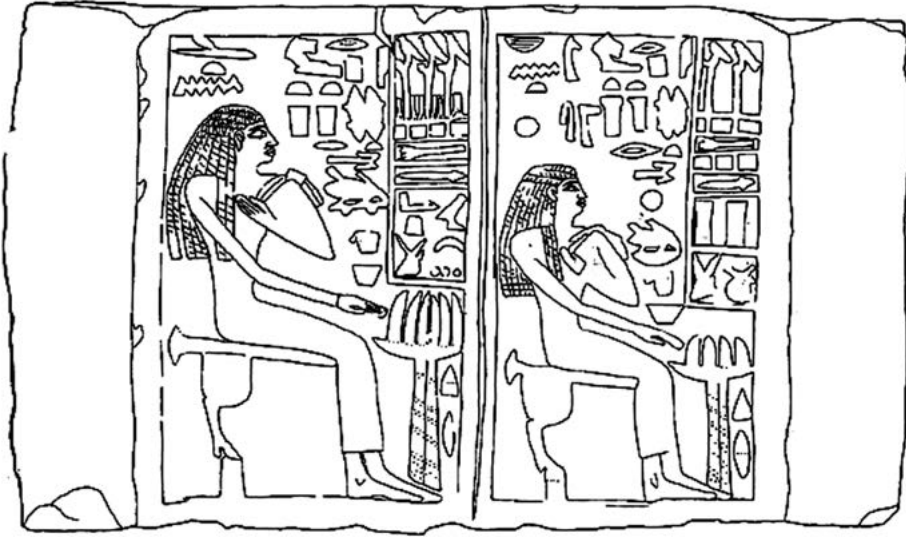


Figure 48. The stele of *Njt-w^c* and *Njt-nb*.

The date given in PM, III/1, 84 is 'probably end of dynasty IV or dynasty V'. Reisner is uncertain about the date and calls it a copy that can be dated to the end of dynasty IV or to dynasty V.¹⁴ Der Manuelian gives 'most likely dating to dynasty 6'.¹⁵

Simpson states that the stele is either older than mastaba G 2352 or that it is a later product with archaistic titles and features.¹⁶

If the 12 loaves of bread that are placed on the offering table are taken as a criterion to check the dating in Figure 46 or 47 it is evident that only for the period IV.E – IV.L the value of 12 fits within the m-spread of the μ value (9.4 – 14.2). Based on this criterion the stele cannot be dated earlier and the dating corresponds to the 4th dynasty of Reisner.

¹⁴ Reisner, *Giza I*, 333 [d].

¹⁵ Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, 111.

¹⁶ Simpson, *Gmast 4*, 35.



Figure 49. The stele of *Nj-^cnḥ-tt* (from Weill, *Monuments*, 226).

1.3.3. The stele of *Njt-w^c* and *Njt-nb*.¹⁷

This double stele shows two women, each of them sitting in front of an offering table (Figure 48). The date given in PM, III/2, 745 is dynasty II-III, a date which is also given by Der Manuelian and Ziegler.¹⁸ W. Bárta dates this stele to the first half of the 3rd dynasty.¹⁹

The person at the left has six loaves on the table, while on the table of the person at the right only four loaves have been depicted. This cannot be due to a difference in date, the most probable explanation being a difference in social (or familial) status for which several arguments can be given:²⁰

- The left part of the stele is bigger than the right part.

¹⁷ Louvre, E 27 157 (see Ziegler, *Louvre*, 158).

¹⁸ Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, 231 and Ziegler, *Louvre*, 157.

¹⁹ Bárta, *Opferliste*, 28.

²⁰ Ziegler, *Louvre*, 157 mentions that this might be a stele for mother and daughter.



Figure 50. The slab stela of *Jt.sn.* (Cairo CG 1391)
(From Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, Plate 13).

- The person on the left is taller than the figure on the right.
- The offering list placed near the person on the left is much more comprehensive than that of the person at the right.

This means that a possible dating of this tomb through the number of loaves on the offering table must be based on the six loaves on the table of the most important person. In Figure 46 this is equivalent to the period II.L. The maximum and minimum polynomials in Figure 47 indicate the period II.M – III.E.

*I.3.4. The stela of *Nj-ḥt*.*²¹

The date of this stela is not entirely clear, Der Manuelian gives archaic period – dynasty III,²² the World Museum at Liverpool (UK) gives III.L – IV.E, while W. Bárta dates this stela to the first half of the 3rd dynasty (Figure 49).²³

²¹ World Museum Liverpool M 13850 (see Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, Figure 289).

²² Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, 231.

²³ Bárta, *Opferliste*, 31.



Figure 51. The stela of *Wd-k3(.j)-ḥnh(.j)* (BM 1223).

The number of loaves of bread on the table is six,²⁴ which would, according to Figure 46, place the stela in the period II.L, and with Figure 47 in period II.M – III.E.

If the offering list above the table is compared with the list on the wooden tablet of *Ḥsij-R^c* (dated to III.E; see intra Figure 15),²⁵ a strong resemblance between the two lists is evident and would place the stela late in the proposed II.M – III.E.

1.3.5. The stela of *Jt.sn*.²⁶

Borchardt dates this stela to the 4th dynasty,²⁷ while Der Manuelian places it in the period archaic – dynasty III (Figure 50). The number of loaves on the table is ten, and according to Figure 46 this gives a date of IV.E, and according to the maximum/minimum lines of Figure 47 the period III.M – V.E. This is in accordance with the period proposed by Borchardt. The date-period, and

²⁴ The significance of the fact that on the photo of the original the baking rim is visible will be discussed in a later chapter.

²⁵ Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 108, no. 1426, Plate 25.

²⁶ Cairo, CG 1391.

²⁷ Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 52, no.1391, Plate 13.

certainly the midpoint date IV.E is in accordance with the presence of the rim on the *bd3* loaves and the absence of indentation (Figure 66).

*I.3.6. The stele of H3.*²⁸

On the panel of the false door 14 loaves were placed on the offering table, depicted as a rectangular block with the form of the loaves just incised into the limestone. In Figure 47 this number of loaves indicates VI.L as a possible dating, and this is in accordance with the given date.

I.3.7. The stele of Wd-k3(.j)-ḥnh(.j)

This stele, in the BM at London under number 1223, is dated to a period comprising dynasties IV and V.²⁹ The number of loaves on the offering table is ten and the *bd3* rim is apparent (Figure 51).

In Figure 47 this value gives a period between III.E and V.E with a midpoint at IV.E. It is probable that this stele can be dated to the early 4th dynasty; this would locate the presence of the rim on the loaves in its proper period.

*I.3.8. The niche chapels of Jj-nfr*³⁰

On one of walls of the southern niche of this tomb an offering table (without the tomb owner sitting in front of it) has been depicted. The number of loaves on the table is 11 and a rim is visible. Accordingly, this number places the tomb in the period IV.E/M (a period in which the rim on the loaves was still present).

In the northern niche an offering table is present too, bearing nine loaves, which would date the tomb to the period III.L – IV.E. However, taking into account the cultic importance of the southern niche, the dating obtained with the number of loaves from that niche prevails.

I.3.9. Discussion of the dating-check

These are examples of a successful application of the dating check using the midpoint polynomial, which also gives satisfactory results with well dated early tombs like *Hsjj-R^c* (Figure 15; eight loaves, III.E) and *Mtn* (Figure 16; ten loaves, IV.E).

²⁸ MFA 25.1514 (PM, III/1, 191-2; probable date: VI.L).

²⁹ James, *Hiero. Texts I*, 8, Plate VIII.

³⁰ Alexanian, *Netjeraperef*, Plates 14b (southern niche) and 18b (northern niche). The tomb of *Jj-nfr* (PM, III/2, 894; date: IV.E) (Cairo, CG 57120, CG 57121).

It is evident that, due to the fact that in the diagram the angle of the curve with the horizontal axis decreases in the later periods of the Old Kingdom, the validity of the results decreases with a growing number of loaves.

This system, if exclusively based on the midpoint polynomial, does not give satisfactory results in all cases. An example can be found in the necropoleis of Maidum and Dahshur. With the exception of the panel of the false door of *Nfr.t* where six loaves are placed on the table,³¹ the false door panels of *Nfr-m3t*, *Rc-htp* and *Jt* at Maidum,³² and the panel of *Ntr-pr.f* at Dahshur,³³ all have eight loaves of bread on the table.

The six loaves on the panel of *Nfr.t* can be seen, in accordance with the stele of *Njt-wc* and *Njt-nb* (Figure 48; section I.3.2), as an indication of social difference, which has not been implemented in the mastaba of *Rc-htp*.³⁴ But the eight loaves represented in the other chapels indicate by way of the midpoint polynomial a date of III.M. If, however, the maximum/minimum polynomials are employed, a dating period of III.E/IV.E is obtained, which is to a certain degree acceptable and can be used as a designation of the possible date.³⁵

The same difference in number of loaves is present between the two niches of the tomb of *Jj-nfr* at Dahshur. Here the reason cannot be social difference because the back side of both niches show the tomb owner, in the southern niche walking and in the northern niche sitting. As has already been said, the most probable reason here is the greater importance attached to the southern niche.

³¹ Harpur, *Maidum*, Figure 99.

³² Harpur, *Maidum*, resp. Figures 43, 98, 169..

³³ Alexanian, *Netjeraperef*, Figure 28.

³⁴ The same can be seen in the table scene on the western wall of the chapel of *Hnmw-htp* [II] (PM, III/1, 105). The number of loaves for the tomb owner is 12 and for his wife it is 10; furthermore, the loaves on the table of the tomb owner are taller than those on the other table (Junker, *Giza IX*, 206).

³⁵ A value of III.L/IV.E is indicated by the minimum polynomial, meaning that the minimum amount of loaves has been depicted; this might be due to the minimizing tendency in funerary architecture and decoration during the reign of Snefru (IV.1).

Chapter Four

About the loaves of bread on the offering table...

Part II

I. The length of the loaves of bread (approximate methods)

I.1. Introduction

In 1989 N. Cherpion published a dating method which was based on taking note of the names of kings during the life span of certain decorative items placed on the walls of the chapels of Old Kingdom tombs.¹ Some of the 65 criteria that had been chosen for the dating method are, through the form and length of the loaves of bread on the offering table, connected with the magical mode of supplying sustenance for the *k3* of the deceased.²

J. Swinton has developed a dating system that is based on the same idea of criteria as the system of N. Cherpion, and also includes criteria that are connected with the sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased. However, in this system the criteria are not connected with the name of a king but with the fact that in a group of tombs which have a certain criterion in common some tombs are reliably dated by means of one or more other methods, thus making it possible to date the criterion.³ Since in this method the presence of a king's cartouche is not a prerequisite, the life span of some of the criteria in this study differ somewhat in length from the equivalent ones in the system of N. Cherpion (compare Figures 52 and 53).

¹ Cherpion, *Mastabas*.

² Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 11 – 15.

³ Swinton, *Dating tombs OK*, 62 – 7.

In his article of 1995 M. Bárta discussed the chronological development of the bread loaves that were placed on the offering table as depicted on the panel of the false door(s) and/or the chapel wall(s) on which this scene could be placed (western wall, southern wall and entrance thicknesses).⁴ M. Bárta divides the chronology of the transition of the form of the offerings on the table into groups that differ somewhat from those given by N. Cherpion, but this does not appreciably change the chronological development of the chosen criteria (compare Figures 53, 54 and 55).

The chronology established by the criteria described in the three sources mentioned above can be compared with the chronological development of the mode of the supply of sustenance for the deceased as determined by the author in a previous study.⁵

In the study of J. Swinton one of the main questions is whether it will be possible to prove the hypothesis that the lengthening and changing of shape of the objects on the offering table could have been caused by a changing belief about the after-life.

In order to answer this question, this part of the study attempts to determine whether a connection can be established between the change of the mode of sustenance of the deceased as described in the previously mentioned study of the author, and the change of the length and shape of the bread offerings on the table.⁶ The existence of such a connection would give support to the by J. Swinton proposed hypothesis.

This support would result from the fact that the connection between the change of the mode of sustenance that is identifiable in the chapel on a much larger scale than just the depiction of the offerings on the table, and the change of the length of the bread loaves is straightforward. The change from bread loaves to supposedly reed plumes pushes the change in sustenance further in the direction of a changing belief about the after-life. This change signified more than just an alteration in the appearance of the loaves;⁷ a change of which some say that it was due to their being mistaken for plumes of reed.⁸

⁴ Bárta, *Bread moulds*. This chronological development is linked to the increasing use of *ḫpr.t* bread moulds, while at the same time, the use of the *bdj* moulds decreased, a development which caused a lengthening of the form of the loaves placed vertically on the table.

⁵ Roeten, *Decoration*.

⁶ Roeten, *Decoration*.

⁷ Bárta, *Bread moulds*, 62

⁸ Hassan, *Giza V*, 170-1.

criterion		description
Cherpion no.	Swinton no.	
16	31	The offering table is laden with loaves with the rim of the mould visible; the loaves reach to the level of the elbow of the deceased.
17	32	The loaves reach to a level between the elbow and the shoulder, the mould rim is disappearing.
18	32	The loaves reach to the shoulder, and their form is straight and simple.
19	33	The depiction of the loaves is transforming into a reed plume.
20	34	The table is laden with depictions of reed plumes, each of which is separately shown.
21		The total of reed plumes is represented as a block.
25	46-50	Vases/ewers with basin under the offering table.
26	41-42	Piles of offerings next to the offering table.

Figure 52. Description of the criteria connected with the sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased (Cherpion, *Mastabas*).

1.2. The various approximate systems

The criteria given by N. Cherpion and J. Swinton that can be connected with the sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased are gathered in Figure 52 together with their description as given by N. Cherpion.⁹ The corresponding criteria numbers of the Swinton system have been included.

The criteria chosen are the ones that describe the form of the loaves on the offering table in the various periods of the Old Kingdom (Cherpion criteria 16 up to and including 21). Also included are items that are placed in the vicinity of the offering table in front of the false door and that have a connection with the function of the false door as an offering place (Cherpion criteria 25 and 26).

The life spans of the criteria of N. Cherpion, J. Swinton and M. Bárta that are relevant for this study have been gathered in Figures 53, 54 and 55.¹⁰ From these figures several conclusions can be drawn:

1.2.1. The Cherpion system

Cherpion criteria 16 up to and including 21 demonstrate a chronological development in which the offerings on the table undergo a transition from real loaves of bread to what is often interpreted as reed plumes (see text in

⁹ Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 47-9, 52-3 does not discriminate in the placement of the libation set; Swinton, *Dating tombs OK*, 62-67.

¹⁰ The chronological changes as proposed in Baud, *Critères*, 42 - 3, 62 - 6 and table 4 (page 91) have been taken into account. The chronological development of criterion 25 is in accordance with the development on the western wall of the chapel as shown in diagram IV.10 in Roeten, *Decoration* (page 400).

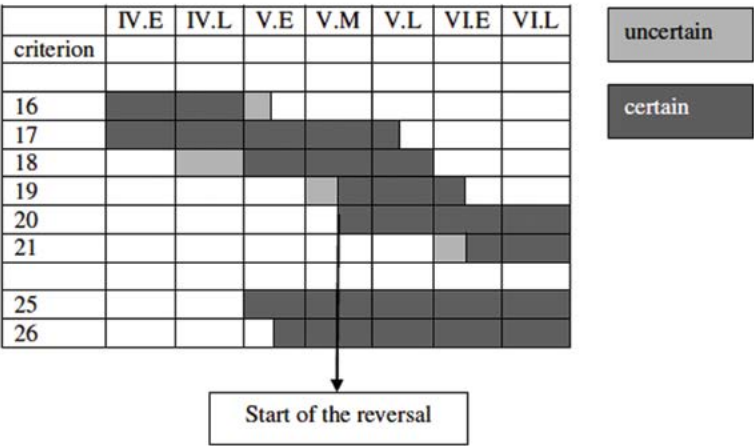


Figure 53. The life span of the Cherpion criteria.

Figure 52), but which, when studied more closely, turn out to be mistaken interpretations of these plumes.¹¹

According to N. Cherpion criterion 19 can be dated from the reign Niuserre up to and including the reign of Teti.¹² Baud states that the objects on the offering table on the panel of the false door can be interpreted as belonging to criterion 19,¹³ and that, based on the biography in the tomb of *Ny-nh-shmt* (PM, III/2, 482-3), this criterion should be dated to the reign of Sahure. However, a closer study of the panel of the false door shows that this allocation is not convincing and that the offerings on that table could be interpreted as belonging to criterion 17.¹⁴

The period in which criteria 19 and 20 are introduced (V.M) is also the period in which the marsh scene started to be depicted on the northern wall of the chapel,¹⁵ a scene further discussed in chapter VIII.

1.2.2. The Swinton system

Swinton criteria 31 up to and 34 demonstrate an identical chronological development to the equivalent criteria in the Cherpion system (criteria 16 up to and including 21 in Figures 53 and 54).

¹¹ Bárta, *Bread moulds*.
¹² Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 48.
¹³ Baud, *Critères*, 62.
¹⁴ Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, Bl. 39 (no. 1482).
¹⁵ Roeten, *Decoration*, table XIII.1.Ann. (page 389).

In both systems the chronological development of the vases/ewers next to the offering table (criteria 25 and 46-50) shows that there is no apparent relation to the start of the transition from bread loaves to reed plumes (criterion 19, resp. 33).¹⁶ This indicates that no connection can be adopted between the libations and the Osirian aspect of water that has been lost during the mummification process.¹⁷

For the (sub)themes that are connected with the sustenance of the deceased (Cherpion 16 – 20; Swinton 31 - 34) it can be concluded that the life span of the respective criteria in both groups are approximately identical in both period and length.

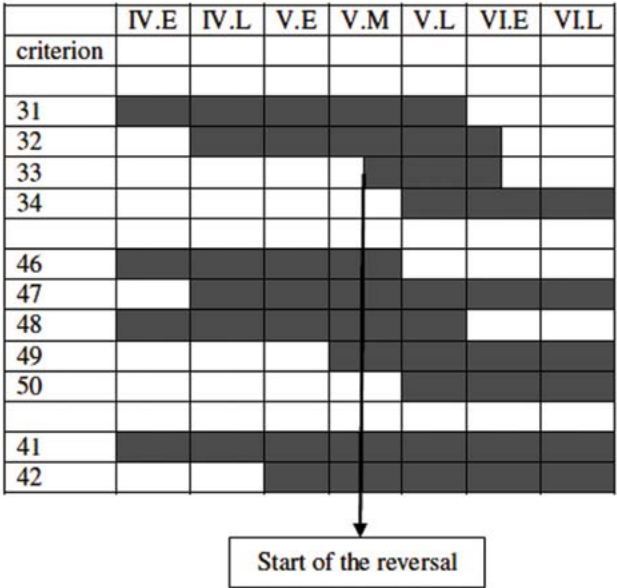


Figure 54. The life span of the Swinton criteria.

¹⁶ The development of criterion 26 (the piles of offerings) as given by N. Cherpion is corroborated by the chronological development on the western and southern wall of the chapel as given in Roeten, *Decoration* diagrams IV.10.Ann. (page 400) and XIV.8.Ann (page 414).

¹⁷ O'Neill, *Setting the scene*, 58 states that a connection exists between the loss of body fluids during mummification and libations, but the remark 'Lost elements of bodily fluids were referred to as the efflux of Osiris.....' does not necessarily mean that there is a direct connection between libations and Osiris, because both natural and artificial mummification implies loss of body fluids. In the case of natural mummification (dehydration) the b3 of the deceased would lose its free mobility.

1.2.3. The Bárta system

This system is based on the same considerations as the systems of Cherpion and Swinton, a difference being that the early dynastic period is included (phases I.1 –I.3), which is not done by the two afore mentioned scholars.¹⁸ The three phases of stage I are:

- In phase 1 the offering scene is placed on cylinder seals.
- In phase 2 the scene is placed on slab stelae from the Helwan cemetery.
- In phase 3 the loaves are slightly taller than those of phases 1 and 2.

In his article of 1995,¹⁹ M. Bárta states that most of the slab stelae of stage I, phase 2 are dated to the 2nd dynasty. He also states that in that phase the loaves were oriented in one direction.²⁰ In chapter III of this study it is evident that these stelae are dated to the second half of the 1st dynasty up to and including the 3rd dynasty.²¹ In phase 3 the loaves are placed symmetrically and are somewhat taller than in stage 2.

In the same article M. Bárta indicates that the bread loaves and the reed leaves are in fact different symbols for the same phenomenon and that in spite of the transition from the depiction of loaves of bread to the depiction of reed plumes the basic ideas about the afterlife did not change.²² The two symbols just emphasize two different aspects of life after death. The disadvantage of this

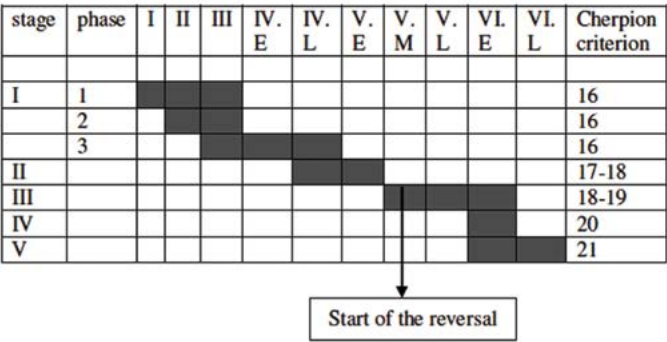


Figure 55. The life span of the Bárta stages.

¹⁸ Bárta, *Bread moulds*, 26-9, Figure 4.

¹⁹ Bárta, *Bread moulds*.

²⁰ Bárta, *Abusir XIX*, 20-1.

²¹ Köhler, *Helwan II*.

²² Bárta, *Bread moulds*, 34-35.

proposition is that it leaves open the question why in that case this transition was deemed necessary while, according to the proposition, the basic funerary ideas did not change. This makes the hypothesis less likely.

The two distinct forms of offerings on the table can be interpreted in the following way:

- The depictions of the bread loaves are directly connected to the sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased through offerings in front of the false door, as a result of the conviction that the deceased actually lived in the tomb.
- Reed plumes do not have this direct connection with sustenance, and must represent another, more abstract and symbolic, aspect of the after-life.
- The appearance of the reed plumes demonstrates that a completely new line of thought about the after-life had developed.

The row of reed plumes on the offering table can be interpreted as the representation of a field of reeds,²³ a field mentioned in the Pyramid Texts as the Field of Rushes, of which the Field of Offerings possibly was a part;²⁴ the former was a place for purification and the *k3* just passed through it;²⁵ while the latter was the place where the *k3* of the non-royal deceased stayed after death, the *k3* of the king left from there and went up to the gods.²⁶

²³ Bárta, *Bread moulds*, 30.

²⁴ Hays, *Field of rushes*, 177.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 187.

²⁶ LÄ, I, 1156 – 1160, s.v. 'Earu-Gefilde', there 1156.

Chapter Five

About the loaves of bread on the offering table...

Part III

I. The length of the loaves of bread (determination by measurement)

I.1. Preliminary considerations

The length of the loaves cannot be given as an absolute unit of length, but has to be expressed as the percentage of the length of another item on the same carrier, of which the length can be considered to be standard. The only feasible item that meets these criteria is the depiction of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table. This method is also independent of the height of the offering table in relation to the tomb owner.

In Figure 56 the length of the loaves (distance A) is determined as a percentage of the height of the sitting tomb owner (distance B).

There is no distinction between the table scene on chapel walls, entrance thicknesses or false door panels.

I.2. The chronological development of the length of the loaves

Table IV presents the tombs in which the depictions of the tomb owner in front of the offering table with loaves on it are in a state of conservation that makes it possible to measure the distances A and B.

The percentages thus determined are gathered in table IV, and are mathematically treated according to the method described in section I.2.1. of chapter III. The values are gathered in Figure 58 and it is evident that the spread

of the length is relatively stable over the periods. These midpoint values are placed in the diagram of Figure 57 together with their spread.

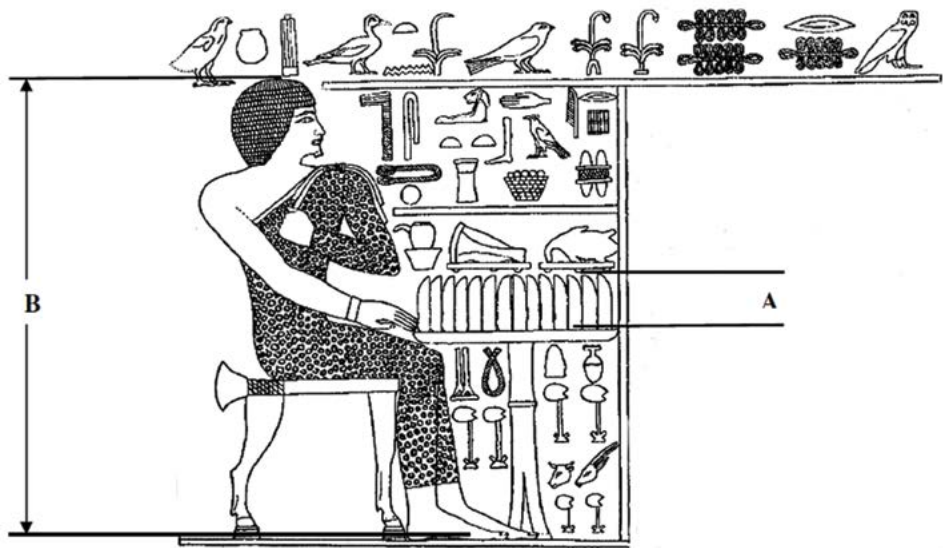


Figure 56. The determination of the length of the loaves of bread.
(after Junker, *Giza I*, Figure 31 (page 175)).

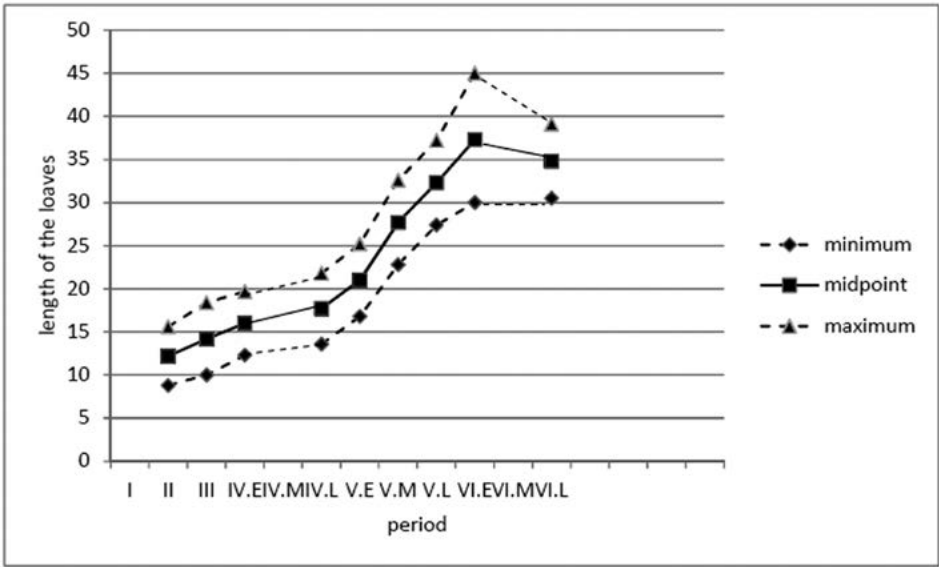


Figure 57. The chronological development of the length of the loaves on the offering table including the large multi-chambered mastabas in the Teti cemetery.

Period	μ	
I	---	
II	12 +/- 3.4	
III	14 +/- 4.2	
IV.	16 +/- 3.7	
IV.M/L	17.7 +/- 4.1	
V.E	21 +/- 4.2	
V.M	27.7 +/- 4.9	
V.L	32.3 +/- 4.9	
VI.E	36.5 +/- 5.6	34 +/- 7.3
VI.M/L	34.8 +/- 4.3	

Figure 58. The values of the length of the loaves in Figure 57.

1.3. Discussion

1.3.1. General aspects

At the end of the 4th dynasty the length of the loaves starts to increase markedly, a fact that has already been noted by Worsham in 1979.¹ The loaves on the panel of *Hsjj-R^c* (PM, III/2, 437-9; III.E) have a length of 15% which would lead to the conclusion that in Figure 57 an extrapolation of the curve to the 3rd dynasty gives a horizontal line. This conclusion is countered by the observation that the loaves on the stelae of dynasties II and III have a mean value of resp. 12 +/- 3.4% and 14 +/- 4.2%.² If these values are incorporated in Figure 57 it appears that the chronological development in the 4th dynasty is a continuation of that of the dynasties II and III.

The increase in length that starts at the end of dynasty IV could have been caused

- by the introduction of the reed plumes on the offering table (a development that will be discussed at a later stage of this study).
- by a waning preference for the loaves coming from the *bdj* moulds, and a gradual replacement by those coming from the *prt* forms, which would give a longer loaf of bread.³

¹ Worsham, *Bread loaves*.

² Köhler, *Helwan II*.

³ Bárta, *Bread moulds*, 27.

- by the fact that during the course of the Old Kingdom, the *bd3* bread mould became higher and less wide.⁴

After period VI.E a small decreasing tendency becomes apparent, of which the cause could be:

- The diminution was realistic, and the length of the loaves did in fact decrease.
- The value for period VI.E is too high, which can be caused by a biased population or by the inclusion of the large multi-chambered mastabas in the Teti cemetery.⁵

1.3.2. Checking the reliability of the dating method

The earliest periods (dynasties III and IV) cannot be used due to the small angle of the curve with the horizontal axis. Since in the period VI the curve passes into a (near) steady state the curve cannot be used for that period either. Tombs with loaves that are longer than 36% cannot be dated with this method. Nevertheless a number of tombs can be measured in this way.

*1.3.2.1. The loaves in the chapel of the sun-priest *Nfr-Inpw* (Abusir, AS 37)*

A control on this method can be made by measuring the length of the loaves on the offering table depicted on the panel of the false door of the priest *Nfr-Inpw* (Abusir, tomb AS 37).⁶ The length is 32%, in Figure 59 leading to a date V.L. This is corroborated by the date derived from the surface of 169m² of the tomb.⁷

*1.3.2.2. The tomb of *Irw-k3-Pth**

The tomb of *Irw-k3-Pth* (PM, III/2, 639) has a controversial dating of V.E by Altenmüller and VI by Porter and Moss. In Table IV the tomb has been placed in period V.L and the loaves have a length of 36%, which places it in the period V.L – VI.M/L. The construction of the causeway of Unas (V.9) made the court

⁴ This argument might be contradicted by the consideration that in that case the rim would still be present, although it is possible that

a it was no longer of the utmost importance that the forms on the offering table could exclusively be interpreted as bread loaves.

b The length of the moulds was such that the loaf did not rise above the edge anymore.

⁵ The same anomalous values can be seen with the surfaces of these mastabas (Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figures 107 and 112).

⁶ Bárta, *Abusir XXIII*, Figure 4.24 (page 67).

⁷ Roeten, *Economic decline*, Table X.1 (page 141).

in front of the tombs of *Trw-k3-Pth*, *3ht-htp*, *Nj-ꜥnh-Rꜥ* and *Nfr-Hr-jn-Pth* nearly disappear which means that the tomb has to be dated to the reign of Unas (V.9) or somewhat earlier. This date is in accordance with the result obtained with the length of the loaves, although the value of 36% is already in a less reliable part of the curve in Figure 57.

1.3.3. The tombs in the Teti cemetery

In period VI.E of table IV the length of the loaves that has been measured on the panel of the false door in the chapel of *Mrrw-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 525-34; vizier; surface: 690m²; VI.E) in the Teti cemetery is 51%.⁸ This is a length that is unprecedented during the whole period of the Old Kingdom. In the equivalent mastaba of *K3.j-gm-nj* (PM, III/2, 521-5; vizier; surface: 980m²; VI.E), the panel of the false door has been damaged in such a way that the length of the loaves on the table cannot be determined with certainty, although what is left of them gives the impression that the percentage must a little less than the 51% on the panel of *Mrrw-k3.j*.⁹

The loaves in the table scene on the panel of the false door of *Ndt-m-pt* (Teti cemetery), the mother of *Mrrw-k3.j*, reach a length of 54%,¹⁰ while the loaves on the panel of the false door of his son *Mrjj-ttj* (PM, III/2, 536-7) only come to 44%;¹¹ the loaves depicted in the offering scenes on the northern and southern wall of the chapel of his wife *Wꜥtt-ht-hr* (PM, III/2, 534-5) are even smaller with resp. 41% and 38%, which might be seen as showing a difference in social status which apparently applied not only to the wife but also to the son.¹²

In the Teti cemetery the tomb of *Nfr-sšm-rꜥ*, a high ranking official (vizier) that can be dated to the E/M period of the reign of Teti (VI.1), had a mastaba with a surface of 663m². This surface is nearly identical with that of *Mrrw-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 525-34), yet the loaves in the chapel of *Nfr-sšm-rꜥ* only reach 36%.¹³ This places the tomb in the period given as its dating.

⁸ Duell, *Mereruka*, Vol. 1, Plate 62. In contrast, the bread loaves reach 41% in the offerings scene on the northern wall of the chapel.

⁹ In Table IV for every period the μ value of the length of the loaves on the panels of the false doors has been determined separately from these μ values for the other elements with the offering scene on it. In none of the periods could a marked difference be determined between the two μ values.

¹⁰ Brovarski, *False doors*, Figure 2c.

¹¹ www.osirisnet.net

¹² www.osirisnet.net

¹³ Kanawati, *S'ankhuiptah*, Plate 58.

The bread loaves on the panel of the false door of *Hntj-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 508-11; vizier; surface 232m²; VI.E), who also had his tomb in the Teti cemetery, have a length of 45%, while the mean percentage for that period is 36.5 +/- 5.6 (re-calculated 34 +/- 7.3), and the length of the loaves is lying outside the values of the mean deviation.

The loaves on the panel of the false door of *Nfr-sšm-R^c* (PM, III/2, 511-2; 663m²; vizier; VI.E) are 45%, and well outside the range of that period.

Although the dimensions of the mastaba of the vizier *K3r* (final surface 277m²), who served in the transition period V.L-VI.E and had his tomb constructed at Abusir, are moderate compared with those of *Mrrw-k3.j* (690m²) and *K3.j-gm-nj* (981m²), the same effect for the length of the loaves is noticeable (percentage values 36%, 39%, 40% and 42%, while the mean for the period V.L is 32.3 +/- 4.9 (Figure 58)).¹⁴

The mastaba of *K3r* has two chapels that must have been constructed in two different phases of his career.¹⁵ At first his mastaba had a surface of 99 m² with one chapel with two false doors of which the southern one had loaves on the offering table on the panel that had a length of 36%.¹⁶

When he was appointed to vizier, he enlarged the surface of his mastaba to 277m² and, in the extension, a narrow east-west oriented second chapel with one false door was constructed. The length of the loaves on the panel of the false door in this chapel was 39%, while the length of the loaves on its northern and southern walls was resp. 40% and 42%, values very close to the maximum permissible length of the loaves for that period.

This shows that during this period the highest echelon of officials was in the habit of making various elements of their tombs greater and grander than in previous periods (surface of the tomb, the number of rooms in the tomb, and the length of the loaves).

This tendency has manifested itself in the necropolis of Saqqara only for a short period during the reign of Teti (VI.1).¹⁷

¹⁴ From period V.L in Table IV it can be calculated that the standard variation σ has the value 4.9. The acceptable difference of a measuring point with the mean value $\mu = 32.3$ is $\sigma \times 1.96 = 9.6$. This means that the values 32.3 +/- 9.6, being values between 22.7 and 41.9 are acceptable.

¹⁵ Roeten, *Economic decline*, 108-9.

¹⁶ This chapel was built when he was not yet a vizier and the length of the loaves of the remaining false door in this chapel (36%) is within the range of that period.

¹⁷ Roeten, *Economic decline*, 92-3.

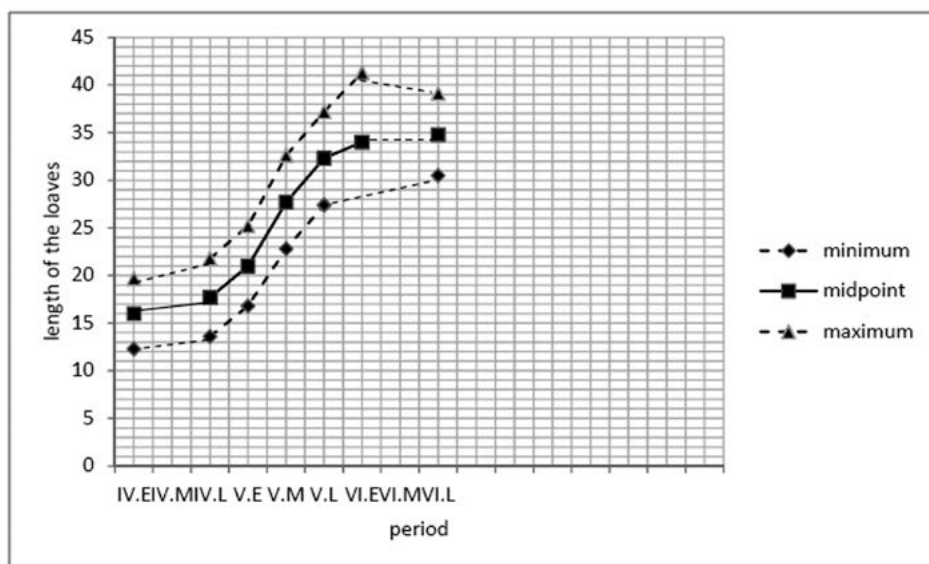


Figure 59. The chronological development of the length of the loaves on the offering table, excluding the large multi-chambered mastabas in the Teti cemetery.

This is corroborated by:

- The smaller and somewhat later tomb of *Mḥw* (PM, III/2, 619-22; 512m²; temp. Pepy I (VI.2), vizier) which is situated near the pyramid of Unas (V.9). The loaves in that tomb have a length of resp. 39%, 40% and 41%, thereby remaining within the re-calculated value for period VI.E of 34 \pm 7.3.
- The length of the loaves in the mastaba of *Snḏm-jb* (*Mḥj*) (PM, III/1, 87-9; vizier; temp. Unas (V.9)) at Giza are 36% and 37%.¹⁸

If in period VI.E of Table IV the large multi-chambered mastabas are excluded from the calculations,¹⁹ the mean value μ becomes 34 with a standard deviation of \pm 7.3 (Figure 58). In the diagram of Figure 59 the point for this period is lower and from the middle of the 6th dynasty the development of the length of the loaves shows the beginning of a steady state.

¹⁸ LD, *Erg.*, Plates XV and XVI.

¹⁹ *Nfr-sšm-R* (PM, III/2, 511-2), *Hntj-k3.j* ((PM, III/2, 508-11), *Mrrw-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 525-34), *Wṛtt-ht-hr* (PM, III/2, 534-5), *Mrrj-ttj* (PM, III/2, 536-7) and *K3.j-gm-nj* (PM, III/2, 521-5).

II. The rim on the loaves baked in a *bd3* mould

Figure 60. Loaves baked in a *bd3* mould standing on the offering table of the slab-stele of *Nfr.t-j3b.t* (PM, III/1, 59-60; IV.M; Louvre E15591).



Figure 61. Loaves on an offering table depicted in the chapel of *Nfr* and *K3-h3.j* (PM, III/2, 639-41; V.M – V.L).



The way the rim on this type of loaf is formed during the baking process has already been discussed in chapter II. It is one of the characteristics of this type of loaf, leading to the conclusion that, in order to show that it was loaves of bread that were being placed on the offering table, the rim had to be depicted.

However, in the course of the Old Kingdom the rim starts to disappear and new forms become manifest on the offering table.

Three loaf forms can be distinguished:

- The real *bd3* form with the rim clearly present (Figure 60).
- Loaves without a discernible rim (Figure 61).
- Loaves (?) with an indentation (Figure 62). The degree of indentation can vary between hardly perceptible (Figure 62) and extremely deep (Figure 63)

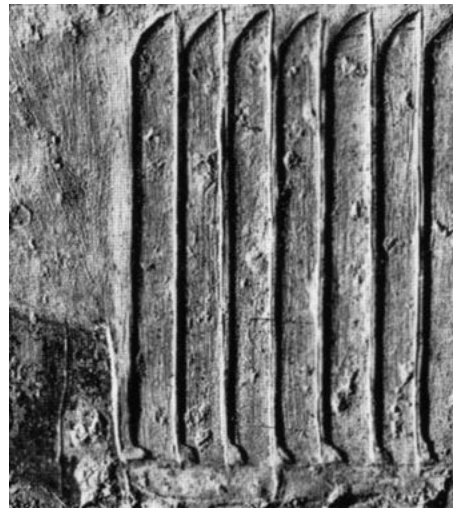


Figure 62. Loaves with a small indentation.



Figure 63. Loaves standing on the offering table in the chapel of *Mhw* (PM, III/2, 619; VI.2). The loaves have a deep indentation.

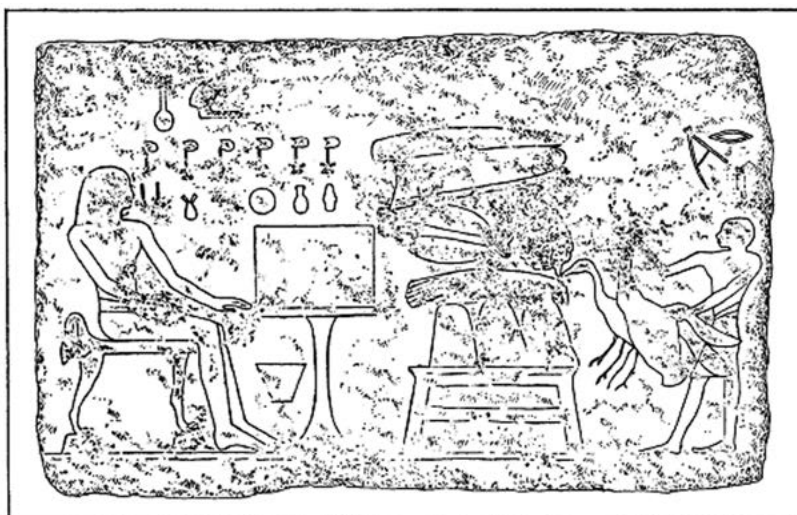


Figure 64. False door panel of *Hbt-nfr* (PM, III/1, 178) (Junker, *Giza VIII*, Figure 92 (page 176).

- The loaves are depicted as one large block without separation and without indentation (Figure 64).

In Table IV the tombs in which the rim of the loaves is visible are marked and gathered in table V. A chronological development can be observed in the disappearance of the rim on the *bdj* baked loaves.

In order to show that development graphically the number of tombs with this rim is expressed as a percentage of all the tombs that are placed in the period.

The resulting percentages are presented in the diagram of Figure 65.

III. The indentation in the objects on the offering table

III.1. The chronological development of the presence of indentation

In the course of the Old Kingdom a development took place in which an indentation was introduced in the underside of the bread loaves (Figures 62 and 63).

In Table IV the tombs which have an offering scene and where the loaves show an indentation are marked in grey and gathered in Table VI. The percentages per period are determined and are shown in the diagram of Figure 66.

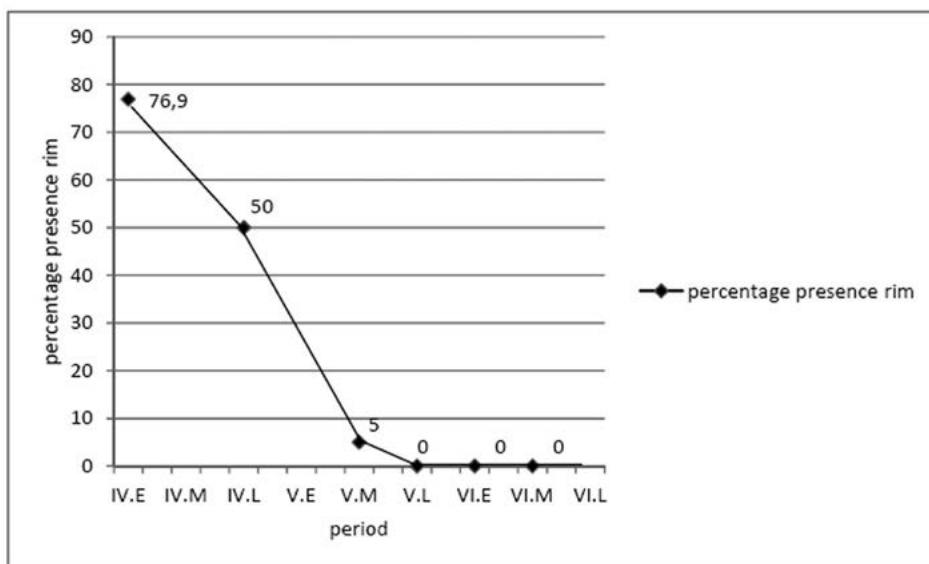


Figure 65. The chronological development of the rim on the in *bdj* moulds baked loaves.

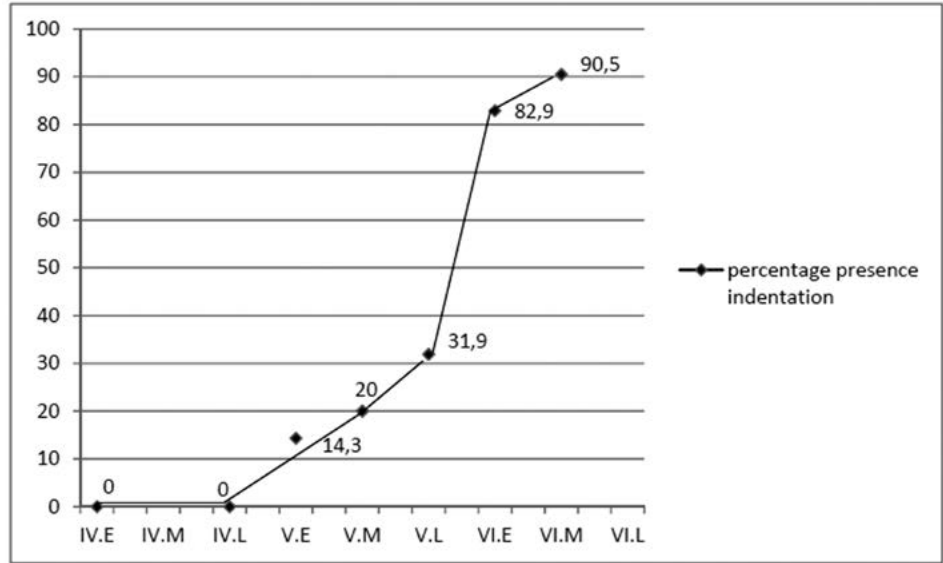


Figure 66. The chronological development of the indentation of the loaves on the offering table.

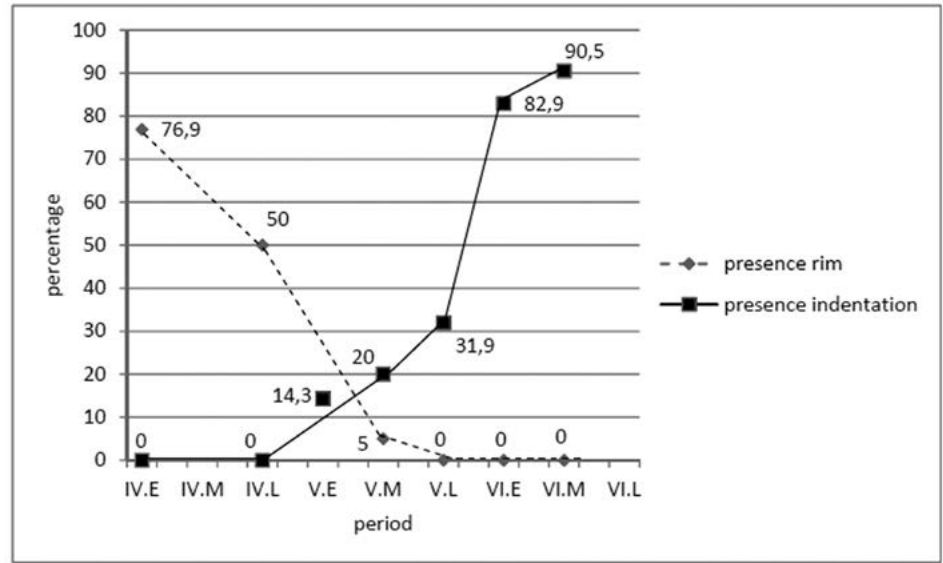


Figure 67. The chronological development of the rim and indentation of the loaves of bread.

It is evident that at the transition from the 5th to the 6th dynasty the presence of the indentation increases sharply. It is also evident that the appearance of

the indentation had already begun during the transition from the 4th to the 5th dynasty.

If the two chronological developments depicted in Figures 65 and 66 are joined together in one diagram, Figure 67 is obtained.

It is highly probable that a direct connection exists between the two developments in Figure 67, because in the period in which the rim on the loaves disappears completely, the percentage of indented loaves increases steeply, and at the end of the 6th dynasty the objects on the offering table are almost exclusively indented. This means that the basic idea about the offerings on the table has completely changed.

III.2. The development of the form of the objects on the offering table

- A: The object is typically a loaf that has been baked in a *bd3* mould and that has been cut in two over its length and that has been truncated on the short side in order to place it upright on the offering table (Figure 68).
- B: This object is no longer the *bd3* baked loaf that is depicted in A. It probably is a truncated *ʕpr.t* loaf, as already mentioned by Bárta.²⁰ But an indentation in the right-under side is still rare.
- C: The *ʕpr.t* loaf gets taller (Figure 59). This might mean that the loaf was really becoming taller, but it is also possible that the loaf was less rigorously truncated as the loaf in Figure 68-B is. The loaves on the offering table on the false door panel of *Shm-k3.j* (PM, III/1, 53; V.L-VI.E) are *ʕpr.t* loaves which are hardly truncated and have an indentation that is nearly straight; this can be interpreted as a transitional phase between phases C and E (Figure 68). It is also possible that the tradition of a loaf without indentation was abandoned and the line of the loaf under the rim was introduced again, but without showing the rim. The transition from B to C leads to an increase in length of the loaves and this is visible in Figures 57 and 59 and can be dated to the period IV.L – V.E.
- D: This hypothetical phase is an *ʕpr.t* loaf that is no longer truncated, and which is placed whole on the table. The *ʕpr.t* loaf must be interpreted as the form that would lead to the introduction of the indentation.

²⁰ Bárta, Bread moulds, 27.

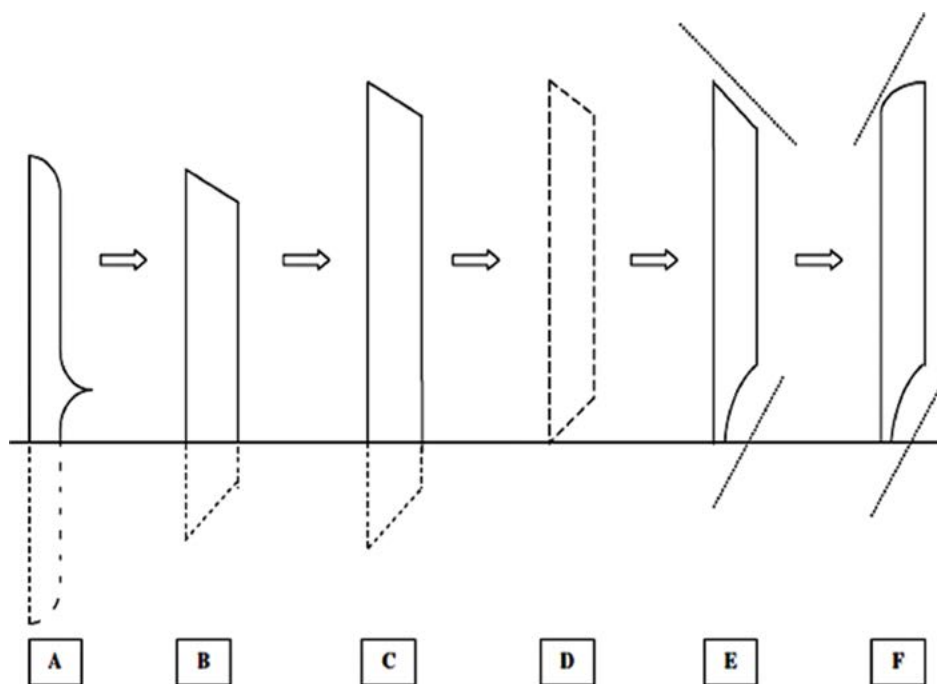


Figure 68. The development of the objects on the offering table (schematic).



Figure 69. Loaves with an intermediary form between phases C and D

E: The *ʿpr.t* loaf with an indentation (Figures 62 and 69), but it still is an interpretation of the *ʿpr.t* loaf as is shown by the guide lines over and under the figure.

F: This object can be interpreted as a depiction of the hieroglyphic sign Gardiner M 17 (Figure 70), which is described by Gardiner as ‘flowering reed’ (Figure 86).²¹ This form started to be introduced on the table during the 6th dynasty,²² and became more common from the 11th dynasty on, but it never became dominant.²³

An example of this form is visible on the offering table scene in the tomb of *Htj* (PM, IV, 154 – 9; date 11th dynasty) (Figure 71), in which the objects on the table have the proper reed plume orientation, and are coloured green, the colour of Osiris.

An earlier example can be found in the chapel of the mastaba of *Sʿnh.wy-pth* which is situated in the Teti cemetery and can be dated to the reign of Teti (VI.1) or a little later.²⁴ The objects on this offering table have the same form as the flowering reed plume of Figure 68-F (see Figure 72).²⁵

It is worth taking into account the situation in the tomb of *Mhw* (PM, III/2, 619 – 22; date: VI.2-3) where several persons have been buried and a large quantity of offering table scenes are present, some have the proper reed plume form, but not all of them (!). Consequently, it cannot be decided whether, in these relatively early tombs, this true to nature reed form was intentional, all the more so

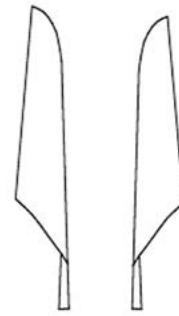


Figure 70. Reed form
hieroglyphic sign
Gardiner M 17 (Gardiner,
Grammar 481).

²¹ Gardiner, *Grammar*, 481.

²² Stevenson Smith, *Art and architecture*, Figure 144 (page 153); stele no. 1875 of *Nmtwj* (FIP) in the Pelizaeus Museum at Hildesheim, the reed plumes are painted red, which is the natural colour of young reed plumes.

²³ Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, 1654 (Early Middle Kingdom); 1613, 1618, 1633 (Late Middle Kingdom).

²⁴ Kanawati, *Conspiracies*, 121. In spite of the *damnatio memoriae* of which *Sʿnh.wy-pth* has been the victim, an impression of the height of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table can still be obtained; this gives a length of the loaves of 35% which is in the unreliable part of the curve in Figures 57 and 59, but at least indicates a date early in the 6th dynasty. Roeten, *Economic decline*, Table X.1 (page 141) indicates a date of V.L – VI.E for a tomb surface of 34m² (Kanawati, *Sʿankhuipth*, 41).

²⁵ Kanawati, *Sʿankhuipth*, Plate 27. The offering table scene on the northern wall of the chapel has the ‘normal’ non-reed configuration form Figure 68-E.



Figure 71. Detail of the table scene in the tomb of *Htj* (PM, IV, 154 – 9; 11th dynasty; Beni Hassan).

because the objects on the table are still brown,²⁶ which is not only the colour of loaves of bread but also that of reed plumes late in their season.

In the mastaba complex of *Pth-htp* and *3htj-htp* (PM, III/2, 598-605; date: V.L) several offering table scenes are placed on the walls, and in at least one of them the objects have the orientation proper to the reed plumes.²⁷

The objects on the offering table on the panel of the false door of *Ndt-m-pt* (date VI.1L) have the right reed plume orientation.²⁸

In the provinces this reed-plume-like orientation is present on a relatively large number of stelae.

Examples are:

- The stela of *Idy* from the Dakhleh Oasis that can with some certainty be dated to the later part of the 6th dynasty.²⁹

²⁶ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, Plate 103.

²⁷ Cherpion, *Mastabas*, Plates 44 and 45.

²⁸ Kanawati, *Nedjet-em-pet II*, Plate 40. Kanawati, *Nedjet-em-pet I*, 12-3.

²⁹ Valloggia, *Datation*, Figure 2.

- The stele of *3tt-k3* from el-Hawawish, which is dated to the 6th dynasty.³⁰
- The stele of *Trt* from el-Hawawish, also dated to the 6th dynasty.³¹
- A 6th dynasty stele from el-Hawawish.³²

An example dated to the FIP is the offering table scene on the panel of the false door of *ʿnh-ḥ3.f* (Ehnasya el-Medina).³³



Figure 72. The reed plumes in the chapel of *Sʿnh.wy-ptḥ* (from Kanawati, *Sʿankhuptah*, Plate 27, (detail)).

³⁰ Kanawati, *Burial customs*, Figure 4 (page 11).

³¹ Kanawati, *Burial customs*, Figure 4 (page 11).

³² Kanawati, *Burial customs*, Figure 70 (page 79).

³³ Dijk, van, *False door stela*.

IV. The chronological developments compared...

IV.1. The facade decoration of the tomb of *Htpj* (AS 20) ³⁴

Bárta *et al* give two possible dates for the tomb. The first date is III-IV.E, based on architecture and iconography. The second date is III.2-3 (III.E), based on the fact that two personal names in the tomb are also mentioned in the tomb of Djoser (III.2) at Saqqara.³⁵

Six loaves are placed on the offering table depicted on the northern wing of the entrance of the southern chapel. According to Figure 47 this places the tomb in the period II.M – III.E, a date that can be in accordance with the arguments of M. Bárta that the tomb owner could have been contemporaneous with Djoser (III.2).³⁶

The length of the loaves is 22% which in Figure 59 corresponds to a dating of V.E. This is not in accordance with the date based on the surface area of the tomb (1154m²), which leads to a dating of III.L – IV.E.³⁷

Based on the surface of the tomb (49.70m x 23.22m = 1154m²) a date of III.L – IV.E is feasible.³⁸

The loaves show the baking rim and reach to the elbow of the tomb owner (Cherpion criterion 16); according to Figure 53 this places the tomb in the period IV.E – V.E. Based on the Swinton system (Figure 54) this tomb could be dated to the period IV.E – V.L. In the Bárta-system (Figure 55) Cherpion criterion 16 of stage I, phase 3 gives a period of III – IV.L.

The period that has the biggest overlap is IV.E (Figure 73), a date that agrees with one of the possible dates given by Bárta *et al.*³⁹

It is obvious that in this case the dating checks based on the number of loaves and on their length are not applicable.

³⁴ Bárta, *Abusir* XIX, Plate 18 (page 391).

³⁵ Bárta, *Abusir* XIX, 56.

³⁶ Bárta, *Abusir* XIX, 56.

³⁷ Roeten, *Economic decline*, Table X.1 (page 141).

³⁸ Roeten, *Economic decline*, Table X.1 (page 141).

³⁹ This is in accordance with the Cherpion criteria 2 and 10 that are mentioned in Bárta, *Abusir* XIX, 18. Criterion 2 (the whole length of the cushion is visible) in Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 28, criterion 10 (legs of the seat are in the shape of the hoof of a bull) in Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 34.

II.L	III.E	III.L	IV.E	IV.L	V.E	V.M	V.L	VI.E	VI.L	Method	Figure
										Architect/icono	---
										Names	---
										Number loaves	47
										Length loaves	59
										Surface tomb	---
										Cherpion 16	53
										Swinton	54
										Bárta	55
1	4	3	5	3	3	1	1	0	0		

Figure 73. The various periods according to the dating methods that have been discussed.

IV.2. *The tomb of K3.j-^cpr at Abusir*⁴⁰

Various scholars have dated this tomb to the period V.E. In order to check that date, the various methods that have been developed can be applied.

The length of the loaves is 23%, which corresponds to a dating period IV.L - V.E.⁴¹ The dating also corresponds to the one based on the surface area of the tomb.⁴²

The number of loaves on the panel of the false door is 11, which leads to an approximate date of IV.M/L.⁴³

The surfaces of the tomb (41.20m x 19.20m = 791m²) and the chapel (3.40m x 1.45m = 4.9m²) give a date of IV.L - V.E.⁴⁴

The loaves reach halfway between elbow and shoulder:

Cherpion criterion 17 gives IV.E - V.M/L and Swinton criterion 32 gives IV.L - V.L/VI.E.

In the Bárta system this height of the loaves is designated as phase II with a dating of IV.L - V.E.

⁴⁰ Bárta, *Abusir V*, 143 - 91, Plate LXIX. PM, III/2, 501.

⁴¹ Bárta, *Abusir V*, Plate LXXXVI.

⁴² Roeten, *Economic decline*, Table X.1 (page 141).

⁴³ The panel of the false door is in The Detroit Institute of Arts under no. 57.58.

⁴⁴ Roeten, *Economic decline*, table X.1 (page 141) ; Figure 116 (page 103).

III.L	III.E	III.L	IV.E	IV.L	V.E	V.M	V.L	VI.E	VII.L	Method	Figure
										Number of loaves	47
										Length of loaves	57
										Surface tomb	---
										Cher pion	53
										Swinton	54
										Bárta	55
										Cher pion crit. 28/29	---
1	1	1	1.5	6	6	2	1.5	0.5	0		

Figure 74. The various periods according to the discussed dating methods in the tomb of *K3.j-ḥpr*.

The wig that the tomb owner wears is a development between Cher pion's criterions 28 and 29 and would indicate a date somewhat later than IV.L, which might suggest the period V.E.⁴⁵

If these dates are gathered in a diagram (Figure 74) the conclusion is that the biggest overlap is found in period IV.L - V.E, which corroborates the date given above.

IV.3. The tomb of *K3.j-m-ḥnh*

The tomb of *K3.j-m-ḥnh* (PM, III/1, 131 – 3) is dated by Porter & Moss to the 6th dynasty,⁴⁶ a dating that is still much debated.⁴⁷

The length of the loaves on the offering table is determined at 29%,⁴⁸ and in Figures 58 and 59 this length indicates a date of V.M – VI.E (Figure 75). N. Kanawati and A. Woods both date the tomb to V.L which is in accordance with the date based on the length of the loaves.⁴⁹ In accordance with the surface of 68m² of the mastaba a date of V.L – VI.E can be assigned to it.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Cher pion, *Mastabas*, 55-6.

⁴⁶ Harpur, *DETOK*, 270[255] also gives VI as the date of this tomb.

⁴⁷ Woods, *Contribution*, 161-2.

⁴⁸ Junker, *Giza IV*, Figure 7.

⁴⁹ Kanawati, *Giza I*, 15 – 8; Woods, *Contribution*, 172.

⁵⁰ Roeten, *Economic decline*, table X.1 (page 141).

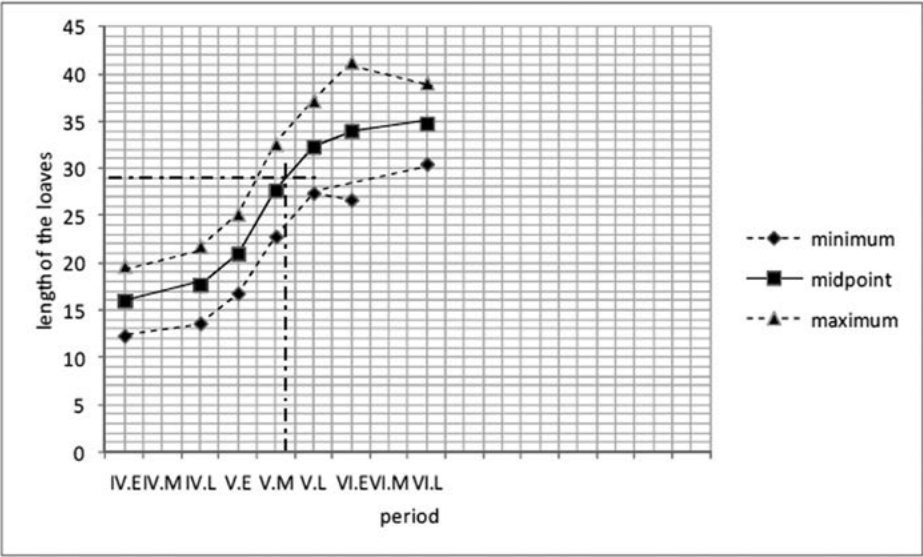


Figure 75. The determination of the possible date of the tomb of *K3.j-m- ζ nh*.

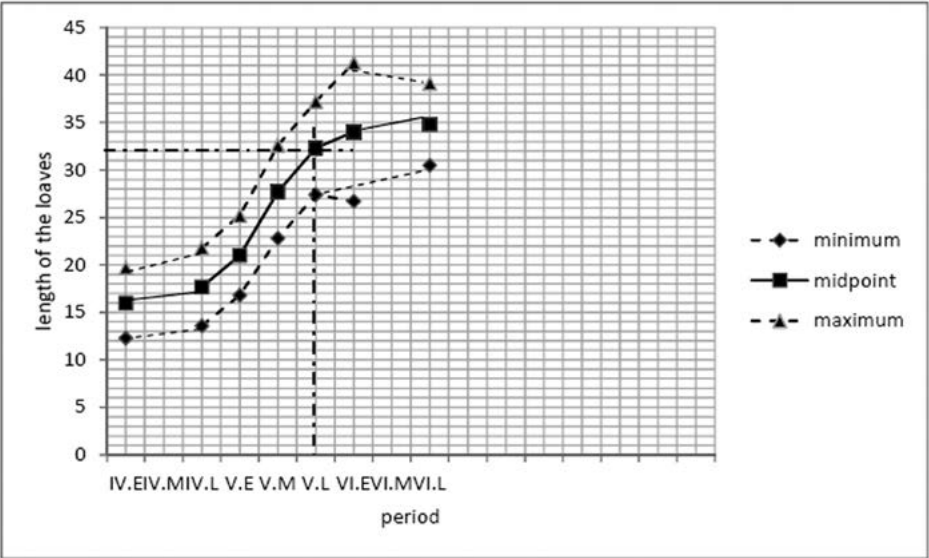


Figure 76. The determination of the possible date of the tomb of *Skr-htp*.

IV.4. The tomb of *škr-ḥtp*⁵¹

The article of K. Dawood in which this false door is described states that it can be dated to the period V.M – V.L with a high probability of a period around the reign of Djedkare Isesi (V.8).⁵²

The number of loaves on the panel of the false door is ten and in Figure 47 this would indicate a date between III.M and V.E, which has no dating significance.

The length of the loaves is 32% and in Figure 76 this indicates a dating in the period V.L which is in accordance with the proposed date.

⁵¹ Berlin, no. 11667.

⁵² Dawood, *Škr-ḥtp*, 102.

Chapter Six

The Osiris Cult



I. The archaeological first appearance of the cult

The transition of the objects on the offering table from bread loaves to the depiction of objects that are probably connected with an area within the realm of the dead might, in all probability, be related to the increasing importance of, or, according to some scholars, the nearly ad hoc introduction, of the god Osiris as the ruler of that realm.¹

Scholarly opinions about the period in which this ruler of the nether-world is introduced in the Egyptian pantheon differ markedly.²

¹ Baud, *Famille royale*, 517-8. Mathieu, *Osiris*; Barta, *Opferformel*, 15.

² According to M. Baud (Baud, *Famille royale*, 517-8) the introduction of the cult of Osiris took place over a longer period of time. Moreno Garcia, *Elite image*, 185 speaks of a growing influence of the Osirian ideology. This is opposed by K. Baer (Baer, *Rank and Title*, note on page 297) who states that no mention of Osiris antedates the reign of Niuserre; B. Mathieu (Mathieu, *Osiris*, 78) proposes that the sudden introduction of this god was a political/theological act of the ruling highest echelon, a hypothesis supported by A. Bolshakov (Bolshakov, *Intj*, 65) who proposes that, to the best of our knowledge, mention of Osiris appeared suddenly. Opposing such rigorous statements is the consideration that they are completely dependent on the present state of excavation of the various necropoleis. A. Roth (Roth, *Gmast* 6, 35) states that the first appearance of the name of Osiris in the offering formula takes place during the reign of Djedkare Isesi (V.8). In Roeten, *Decoration*, table VIII.1. Ann. (page 380-1) the earliest tomb in which the name of Osiris

According to Y. Harpur this attitude indicates a date in dynasty IV, because in the 5th and the 6th dynasty the stem of the flower was held with the whole hand (Figure 78).⁸

In the same depiction one of her (male) children is presenting her the flower;⁹ this is a feature that was not used for female tomb owners (Table VIII).¹⁰ The fact that the tomb owner is depicted both smelling and receiving (presenting) makes it probable that, from a funerary standpoint, the tomb owner is considered to be a male.¹¹ According to Figure 98 the tomb can be dated to the period V.L – V.I.E, the period in which the transition from presenting to smelling took place for male tomb owners and suggests there was a period in which the two depictions overlapped (see Chapter VIII, section V.3).¹²

Another possibly earlier mention of Osiris might be found in the tomb of *Wrjr-n-ptḥ* (PM, III/2, 699-700) which is dated by Harpur, *DETOK*, 273[379] to V.3-5?, the PM date is temp. Neferirkare (V.3) or later; while Stevenson Smith gives the first part of the 5th dynasty as the date. The name of Osiris is mentioned in the offering formulae.¹³ The deceased was a priest in the sun-temple of Neferirkare (V.3), but because a sun-temple continued to function after the death of the king who had it built, a later date cannot be excluded. The two false doors in the chapel both



Figure 78. *Hm.t-Rc* on the eastern face of the southern pillar (detail Hassan, *Giza VI* (3), Figure 43, Plate XXVIII).

impression that he is offering it to smell.

⁸ Harpur, *DETOK*, 134 and there Figures 27 and 53.

⁹ By the expression 'presenting' is meant the actual gesture of handing over the flower, and not the carrying of a bouquet of water lily flowers by an offering bearer.

¹⁰ Walsem, van, *Mastabase*, Main theme: Offerings, Subtheme: Presentation of lotus.

¹¹ In the mastaba of *Idwt* (PM, III/2, 617 – 9, date: VI) the female tomb owner is depicted smelling and holding a water lily flower in one and the same relief. Table VIII shows that in the beginning of the 6th dynasty holding the flower had become practically nonexistent for a male and this means that the tomb owner was depicted as a female; the colour of the skin of the tomb owner corroborates this conclusion.

¹² Pieke, *Lotosblume*, 268-9.

¹³ Stevenson Smith, *HESPOK*, 188. James, *Hiero.texts I*, Plate XXVIII.

have a panel with an offering table with loaves on them. The number of loaves (11) makes a dating by means of Figure 47 practically impossible (the midpoint date would be IV.M).

The mean length of the loaves is 30%,¹⁴ and on the midpoint curve in Figure 59 would indicate a date of V.M-V.L., a date that would place the tomb in the period of the emergence of the Osiris cult, who is mentioned on one of the false doors in the chapel.¹⁵

A more reliably datable example can be found in the chapel of the tomb of *Pth-špss* (PM, III/2, 464, no. 48; temp. Userkaf (V.1) – Niuserre (V.6); British Museum stele EA 682),¹⁶ in the text on the architrave over the entrance of the chapel the name of Osiris is given (Figure 79).

From the biography inscribed on the antae of the panelling of the palace-façade on the western wall of the chapel it can be deduced that *Pth-špss* must have died during the reign of Niuserre;¹⁷ the fact that he also held the title of priest in the solar temple of that king is just an indication and has no dating value.¹⁸

¹⁴ James, *Hiero.texts* VI, Plates 3 and 4.

¹⁵ James, *Hiero.texts* VI, Plate 7.

¹⁶ The total biographical text is: (1) [A child born during] the time of Menkaure, he grew up among the royal children in the palace of the king, inside the royal harem. He was more valuable in the sight of the king than any child. Ptahshepses. (2) [A youth who tied the headband in the time of Shepseskaf, he grew up among the royal children in the palace of the king, inside the royal harem. He was more valuable in the sight of the king than any youth. Ptahshepses. (3)... of Userkaf. His majesty gave him his eldest royal daughter, *H3-m3't*, as his wife, for his majesty wished that she be with him more than with any other man. Ptahshepses. (4) ... [the great controller of craftsmen in the two] houses of Sahure, one more valuable in the sight of the king than any servant; he embarked on every boat, he did guard duty, and he entered upon the ways of the southern Palace in every festival [of appearance]. Ptahshepses. (5) (reign of Neferirkare?)... he was more valuable in the sight of the king than] any servant, as keeper of secrets of every task which the king desired to be done. He who makes perfect the heart of his Lord every day. Ptahshepses. (6) (reign of Shepseskare?)... he was more valuable in the sight of the king than] any servant. When his majesty favoured him because of the things (which he had done), his majesty allowed him to kiss his foot— he did not allow him to kiss the ground. Ptahshepses. (7) (reign of Neferefre?)... he was more valuable in the sight of the king than] any servant, and he embarked on the barque (named) 'supporter of the gods' in every festival of appearance, the beloved one of his lord. Ptahshepses. (8) (reign of Niuserre?)... [who is] in the heart of his Lord, the beloved one of his Lord, the *jm3hw* of Ptah, who does what his god desires, who keeps every craftsman sweet in the sight of the king, Ptahshepses.'

¹⁷ For the false door see Dorman, *Ptahshepses*, Figure 3, for the history and chronology, Dorman, *Ptahshepses*, 107-10.

¹⁸ Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 51.



Figure 79. Part of the first line on the architrave over the entrance of the tomb of *Pth-spss* (from James, *Hiero.texts I*, Plate XVII).

*'a boon which the king gives, a boon which Osiris gives, a boon which the great god gives.....'*¹⁹

The fact is that the only two elements of the tomb that were finished were the architrave over the entrance and the *serekh* false door against the western wall of the chapel, while the decoration of the corridor to the chapel and the chapel itself were only partially finished. Because the architrave and the false door both preferably contained the most important and certainly up to date information about the tomb owner, it is probable that at least the text on the architrave over the entrance and the text on the false door could have been applied late in the life-time of the tomb owner, although even a post-mortem application cannot completely be excluded. The latter is not highly probable since in that case in his life time decorating the tomb would have to have started with the decoration of the chapel and the corridor, leaving for later (in his career or even post-mortem) the much more important identifying architectural elements of the architrave over the entrance and the western wall of the chapel. All this is not in contradiction with the above mentioned possible date of appearance of the cult of Osiris.

According to the dating method developed by the author of this study, based on the dimensions of the mastaba and its chapel (mastaba 37,75m x 21,20m = 800m²; chapel western wall 4.60m, width 1.72m = 7.9m² (Mariette, *Mastaba*, 111)), the construction of the mastaba took place during the period V.M (Figures 80 and 81), which means that the mastaba was not constructed during the reign of a king of the early 5th dynasty. The fact that *Pth-spss* started the construction of his tomb at an advanced age while serving under the kings who had their tombs in the necropolis of Abusir, implies that the location of his mastaba near the pyramid of Userkaf (V.1) is not based on the period of construction but on other considerations, probably of a more personal nature.²⁰

¹⁹ It should be noticed that Anubis is not mentioned on this element of the false door.

²⁰ He was the son-in-law of Userkaf (V.1).

Von Helck mentions that Osiris was taking over the place of Anubis and the king in the care of the deceased.²¹

To this last statement should be added that this took place over the course of time because texts in tombs dated to the 6th dynasty still mention the king, Anubis and Osiris, while very often also ‘the great god’ is invoked.²² However, it is perceptible that during The First Intermediate Period Anubis was not always included in the offering formula,²³ and on stelae that can be dated to the Middle Kingdom Anubis is hardly mentioned anymore.²⁴

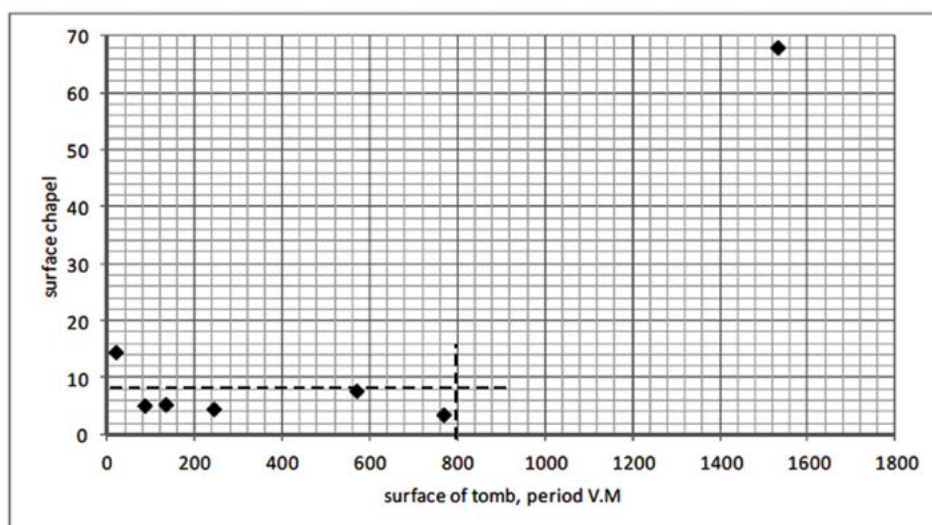


Figure 80. Surface tomb/chapel in period V.M (after Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figure 94).

²¹ Helck, *Ausgang 5. Dynastie*, 163.

²² Allen, *Afterlife*, 12 states that the great god is a conglomerate of all the dead kings that functions for the non-royal deceased. This means that the king giving the boon would have been the living king reigning at the moment of the death of the tomb owner. M. Bárta, *Abusir V*, 52 states that Osiris and the great god are identical. On the lintel of the false door of *Sbw* (PM, III/2, 460, date: VI.1) is written *htp dj njswt htp dj wsjr htp ntr ʿ3* a text which mentions the king, Osiris and the great god, while in the second register Anubis is mentioned. The separate mention of the great god and Osiris is not in accordance with the afore given statement (Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, 33).

²³ An example of a stele on which only the king, Osiris and the great god are mentioned is the stele of *Int.f* son of *K3* (EA 1203 in the British Museum, 11th dynasty).

²⁴ For the Middle Kingdom stelae see Mogensen, *Stèles. Rabehl, Amenemhet*, Figure 36 (page 77) shows that in the Beni Hassan tomb BH 2, which is dated to the early 12th dynasty, the king, Anubis and Osiris are mentioned.

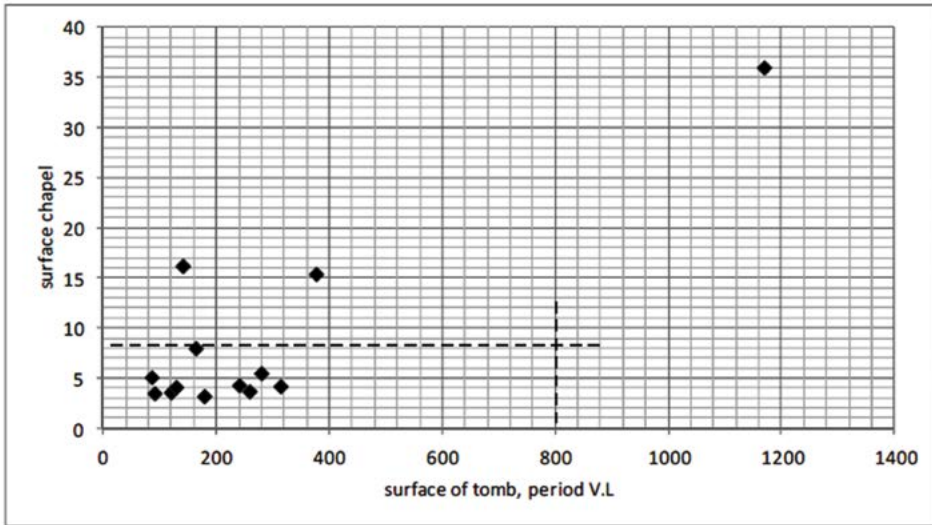


Figure 81. Surface tomb/chapel in period V.L (after Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figure 97).

The same scholar also states that it is possible to make a connection between Osiris and Menkauhor (V.7);²⁵ although he abandoned the royal necropolis of Abusir, Menkauhor (V.7) was the last king to build a sun temple. Furthermore Osiris is not mentioned in tombs that can be securely dated to Niuserre (V.6) or earlier.²⁶ This can be interpreted as an indication that the focal point of funerary tradition needed a further reinforcement in the figure of Osiris, and that the latter slowly took over the role of Anubis.²⁷

The oldest depiction of Osiris so far found originates (probably) from the pyramid complex of Djedkare Isesi (V.8), who was the first king of the 5th dynasty who did not build a sun temple, indicating that the importance of Re was waning, possibly due to the rise of the Osiris cult.²⁸

Furthermore a statue of this king has been found in the Osiris temple at Abydos;²⁹ these arguments point to a growing royal interest in the Osiris cult during the period V.L.

²⁵ Helck, *Ausgang 5. Dynastie*, 164.

²⁶ Tombs that are dated to V.6 in Harpur, *DETOK*, 265-77.

²⁷ Hays, *Democratisation*, 121 – 2.

²⁸ Bárta, *Divine and terrestrial*, 42 (note 56).

²⁹ Petrie, *Abydos I*, 28, Plate LV/2.

II. Dating the tomb of *Nfr-hw-w(j)*

Y. Roth claims that the earliest clear case in which Osiris is mentioned is shortly before the reign of Unas (V.9) in tomb G 2098 of *Nfr-hw-w(j)* which is dated by her to V.8 or later, a date in accordance with the afore mentioned dates.³⁰

The dating of the tomb of *Nfr-hw-w(j)* matters in the light of the problem around the introduction of the cult of Osiris as the lord of the realm of the dead. In the excavation report it is visible that the mastaba and the chapel were still intact. The dimensions of the mastaba are 16.5m x 6.5m, thus a surface of 74.3m², the dimensions of the chapel are 3.0m x 2.1m, giving a surface of 6.3m². These two values offer a (not completely reliable) possibility of determining a tentative period, employing the above mentioned approximate dating method (Figures 82 and 83).³¹

In Figures 82, 83 and 84 it is evident that the dimensions of the mastaba and the chapel offer the best fit in the periods V.M and V.L which indicates between the reigns of Shepseskare (V.4) and Unas (V.9), a dating that has been given as the most probable period in which the cult of Osiris became part of the funerary expression.

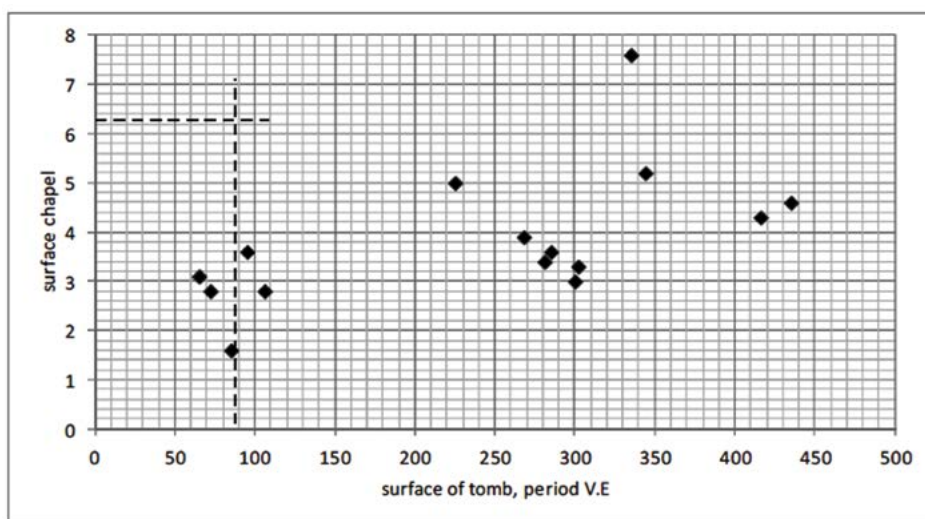


Figure 82. Surface tomb/chapel in period V.E (after Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figure 54).

³⁰ Roth, *Gmast* 6, 145 and Plate 192.

³¹ Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figures 54, 56 and 60. By filling in the dimensions of the mastaba and the chapel in the afore mentioned data-point diagrams it is possible to determine in which period the dimensions fit best.

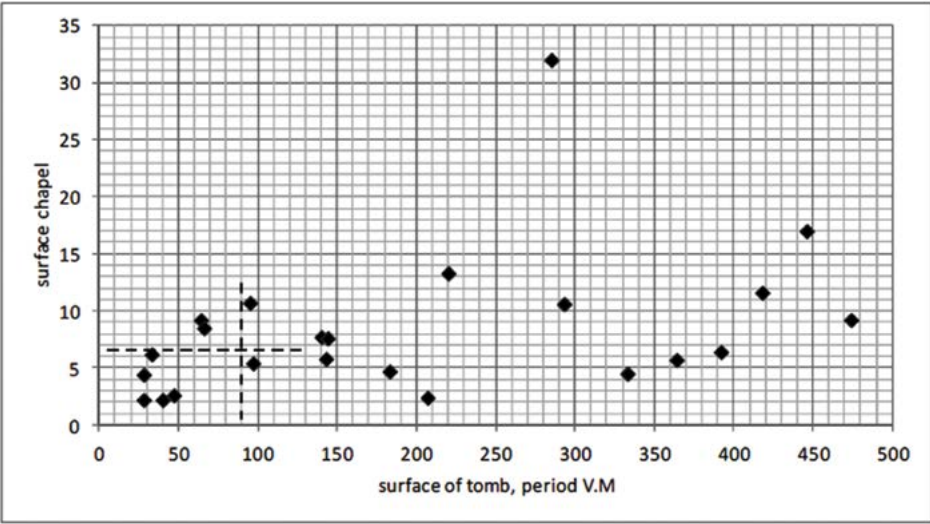


Figure 83. Surface tomb/chapel in period V.M (after Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figure 56).

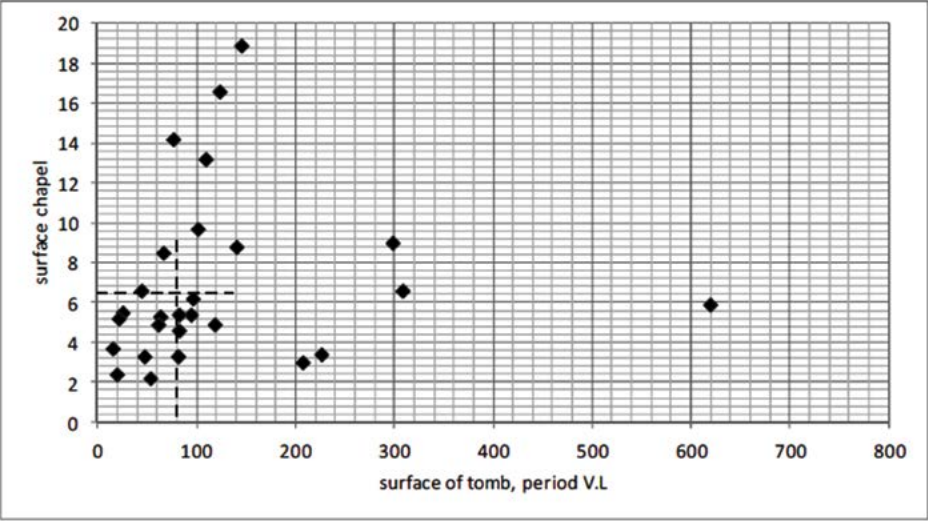


Figure 84. Surface/tomb/chapel in period V.L (after Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figure 60).

Chapter Seven

The Field of Rushes and the Field of Offerings



I. Introduction

These two fields are mentioned in both the Pyramid Texts (PT) and the Coffin Texts (CT). The PT are ambiguous about the place where the deceased resides after his/her death, and states two fields: The Field of Rushes (*šḥt j3rw*) and the Field of Offerings (*šḥt ḥtpw*), of which the former is the most frequently mentioned.¹ It is not clear whether these are two different locations or there are two different names for one location.²

*....the Field of Rushes is inundated, the Field of Offerings is filled with water,...*³

This part of utterance 519 of the PT gives the impression that they are identical. The PT indirectly mentions that the Field of Rushes is in the east, the place where the doors of heaven are opened and Horus goes up into the Field of Rushes.

The doors of the sky [are opened],

¹ E.g.: PT, §275, § 340.

² LÄ, I, 1156-60, s.v. 'Earu-Gefielde' there 1156 also mentions a *šḥt j3rw* which is translated as 'Field of Reeds' (Champ des roseaux).

³ PT, § 1205.

*The doors of the firmament are thrown open at dawn for Horus of the Gods.
He goes up into the Field of Rushes,...⁴*

The Coffin Texts give more information about this location and also states that the field(s) is (are) preferentially placed in the eastern horizon, the place where the sun god is reborn.

*I know that eastern gate,
south of which is the pool of the h3rw-geese
and north of which is the water of the r3-geese...*

I know these twin sycamores of turquoise from between which Re ascends,...

*I know (this) Field of Rushes,
Its wall being of metal,...⁵*

This description of the fields is given in the Book of the Dead; in the Pyramid Texts of earlier date hardly any details can be found about them (for a further discussion see section II of this chapter).

The Field of Rushes has a purifying function, is described in the following text:

*The doors of the sky are opened; the doors of the firmament are thrown open for
Horus of the Gods;
He goes forth at dawn and bathes (he becomes clean) in the Field of Rushes.⁶*

The PT mention activities that have to be done in the Field of Rushes:

*The doors of the sky are opened for you; the doors of the firmament are thrown
open for you,
that you may travel by boat to the Field of Rushes, that you may cultivate barley,
that you may reap
emmer and prepare your sustenance therefrom...⁷*

In spell 110 of the Book of the Dead a more detailed description is given of the activities of the deceased in these fields.

Beginning of the spells for the Field of Offerings,

⁴ PT, § 525.

⁵ Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, 86 (spell 109).

⁶ PT, § 981.

⁷ PT, § 873-4.

*the spells for going forth by day, going in and out of the god's domain,⁸
attaining the Field of Rushes, existing in the Field of Offerings...
...ploughing there, reaping (there), eating there, drinking there,
copulating there, doing everything that is done upon earth.⁹*

In spell 110 of the Book of the Dead the text appears to state that the deceased has to go through the Field of Rushes, and will be living and working in the Field of Offerings, while the PT, § 873-4, listed above, give the impression that these activities were performed in the Field of Rushes, although it is not explicitly stated.

II. The reed plumes

The depiction of something that is often interpreted as a row of reed plumes, increasingly represented on the offering table in front of the deceased, can be interpreted as a stylized rendering of a field filled with rushes (*Phragmites australis* or *Phragmites communis*) (Figure 86). This increasing depiction of rushes could have played a role in the representation of changing ideas about the afterlife.¹⁰ This is corroborated by the observation that two other marsh plants, the papyrus and the water lily, are often depicted on the walls of the chapel as offerings or decoration.¹¹ Although the plant is mentioned in the PT, originally reed had no special importance. The introduction of the Osirian cult and the appearance of 'reed plumes' on the offering table are probably connected, although the simultaneous appearance could also be a coincidence. The latter is not very likely because then the question arises as to why a change from bread loaves to reed plumes would have been deemed necessary.

The reeds on the offering table of the tomb owner in the chapel of the tomb of *Hntj* (Beni Hassan, tomb BH17, 12th dynasty; see intra Figure 71) not only have the true form of the reed plume but are also painted green.¹² This can indicate two things:

- The idea of reeds on the offering table is so completely accepted that in the course of time even the usual brownish-yellow colour of bread has been replaced by the colour green, the colour of Osiris, the colour which is combined with vegetation, meaning rebirth and (cyclic) eternal life.

⁸ Here is meant the Realm of Osiris.

⁹ Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, 86 (spell 110).

¹⁰ If the marshes are depicted in the tomb it is always with papyrus thickets in the background; they are depicted in fowling and fishing scenes and also in the *sšš wꜥꜥ* ritual. Rushes are possibly only depicted on the offering table.

¹¹ The papyrus was the heraldic plant of Lower-Egypt and the water lily that of Upper-Egypt.

¹² Chapter V, Figure 71.

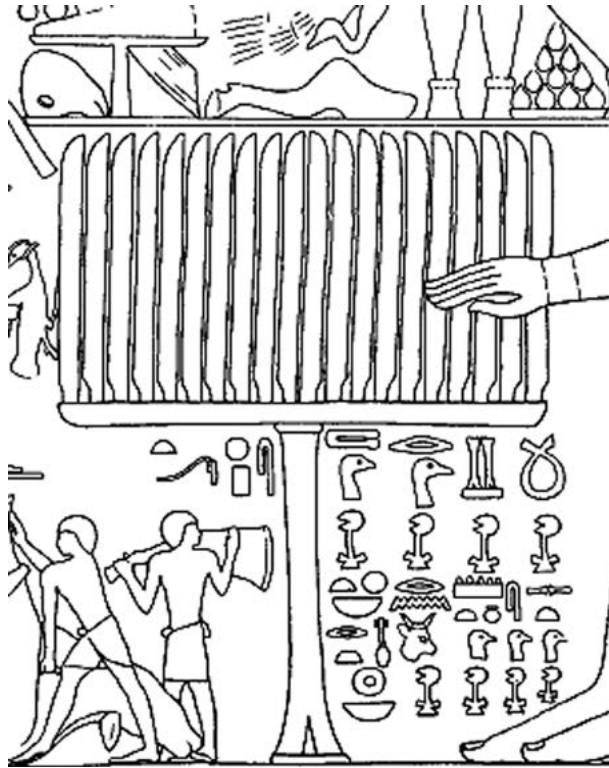


Figure 85. Tomb of *K3.j-m-ḥ* (PM, III/1, 131-3; Date: VI), (Junker, Giza IV, Figure 7 (page 223).

- The basic ideas of the Field of Rushes and the Field of Offering, both of them extremely watery places, combined with the cult of Osiris, has led to the introduction of reeds that were actually painted green; because the reed plume is purple when young, and white to straw-colour at maturity. The decision to paint the reed plumes green was not realistic and may have been caused by the underlying idea of Osiris and the cyclic eternal life of vegetation.¹³

If the objects that are placed on the offering table in the last dynasty of the Old Kingdom are interpreted as reed plumes (Figure 85), they can be seen to be remarkably inaccurate if compared with a real reed plume (Figure 86): the angle

¹³ Normally this green is connected with the green of new growing vegetation, thus with rebirth, but S. Banaschak and T. Grohoff are of the opinion that this green is not the green of new growing vegetation but the colour of a decaying corpse (Banaschak, *Osiris*).



Figure 86. Reed plume (*Phragmites australis*)
(Photo Minnesota Department of Agriculture).

of the indentation and the top of the object on the offering table in this figure is unlike the angle of the same part of the plant in the reed plume (Figure 86).

It was in later periods that the true reed plume form came more into use, although it never became dominant. The reason for this could be that the reed plume was symbolic, even if the form was wrong. Once in a while the reed plume was depicted more accurately, perhaps by an artist who had taken notice of the

real plant. But even when the offering table scene with bread loaves is depicted several times in a single chapel, the design of the reed plumes can be different.¹⁴

III. Field of Rushes versus Field of Offerings

Scholars are still debating whether both fields are identical or not, although texts can be found in the PT that indicate a certain degree of similarity.

*‘...the Field of Rushes is inundated, the Field of Offerings is filled with water,...’*¹⁵

Several spells gathered in these texts describe the deceased king travelling to the Field of Rushes, a place of purification on the way to the sky (although other activities are also mentioned):¹⁶ consequently, it is described as a place of passage. Several texts in the Pyramid Texts express this view:

*‘The doors of the sky are opened;
the doors of the firmament spread to Horus of the Gods,
that he may ascend at dawn,
having become pure in the Field of Rushes.’*¹⁷

*‘...be purified on top of your lotus-flower in the Field of Rushes,
Traverse the sky; make your abode in the Field of Offerings...’*¹⁸

*‘Re has bathed in the Field of Rushes;
Horus has bathed in the Field of Rushes;
I have bathed in the Field of Rushes.’*¹⁹

The sense of passage is visible in the following text:

*‘...filled are the Field of Rushes with water !
Let N really be ferried thereon to the eastern side of the sky,...’*²⁰

The Field of Offerings was a place where the deceased could stay and could receive sustenance. The following texts are examples of this:

‘Cross the sky to the Field of Rushes,

¹⁴ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, Plates 81 and 86.

¹⁵ PT, § 1205 c/d.

¹⁶ Hays, *Field of Rushes*, 178.

¹⁷ PT, § 981, according to the translation given in Hays, *Field of rushes*, 179, note 28.

¹⁸ PT, § 1165.

¹⁹ PT, 567, § 1430.

²⁰ PT, 264, § 343 b.

*Make your abode in the Field of Offerings...*²¹

*'The King is bound for his throne of malachite,
His food is in the Field of Offerings...*²²

*'She excavates a lake for me in the Field of Rushes,
She confirms my land in the two Fields of Offerings.....'*²³

*'May they let me eat of the fields and drink from the pools within the Field of Offerings.'*²⁴

*'I have taken possession of my double for my body, and it will take me to the pools
of the Field of Offerings of R^c.
I will eat, for my meal is there.....'*²⁵

However, not every text is clear about the place where the dead stayed and the function of both fields can be interchangeable.

*'The booth of N is woven in the Field of Rushes,
the abundance of N is in the Field of Offering.'*²⁶

The importance of the Field of Rushes can be derived from several texts in the Pyramid Texts in which this field is named in conjunction with the sky and the earth, and the three are given to the deceased:

*'The sky is given to you, the earth is given to you, and the Field of Rushes...'*²⁷

In the Pyramid Texts the Field of Offering is less frequently mentioned than the Field of Rushes and, even when it is, hardly ever in the function of a place of sustenance (PT, § 1193 (?), § 1200). This could be interpreted as resulting from the fact that the texts that would form the basis of the later Pyramid Texts were compiled in a period in which the deceased and his or her sustenance were still strongly bound to the tomb itself, and that they were (not yet) in need of being provided for in another form.

²¹ PT, § 749 c/d and § 1165.

²² PT, § 1784.

²³ PT, § 289.

²⁴ PT, § 1200.

²⁵ Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, III, 61 – 2.

²⁶ Hays, *Field of Rushes*, 192. PT, 210, § 130.

²⁷ PT, § 961, also see § 1010 and § 1985.

In the later Coffin Texts (CT) a change in sites seems to take place between the Field of Offerings and the Field of Rushes, a change of sites of which the first signs were already visible in the PT.²⁸ This can be concluded from stating that the sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased, which was an aspect of the Field of Offerings in the PT, becomes more an aspect of the Field of Rushes in the CT. Hays gives only two spells in the PT that mention sustenance in connection with the Field of Rushes.²⁹ In the CT the Field of Rushes becomes a place where sustenance is available.³⁰

*'As for anyone who knows this spell,
he will go down into the Field of Rushes,
and there will be given to him a šns-loaf,
a beer-jug, a psn-cake and an aroua of land.....'*³¹

In the CT the Field of Offerings becomes a metaphysical world without defined distances,³² but with waterways and towns,³³ in which various activities are possible.³⁴

One consequence of the description of the realm of the dead quoted above is that the *k3* of the deceased now found his sustenance in the Field of Offerings. This leads to the conclusion that apparently the *k3* of the non-royal deceased was no longer considered to live in his tomb, where he/she could partake in the ritual(s) that take place in front of the false door, thus obtaining sustenance through taking the essentials from the actual offerings that had been laid in front of it. The fact that the deceased now could find his sustenance in the Field of Offerings indicates that the bringing of actual offerings in the chapel was no longer important. This change in the sustenance of the deceased led to change in the mode of the sustenance from the bringing of actual offerings in front of the false door to a more magical way of providing the deceased with the necessary sustenance.³⁵

The difference in the description of the fields in the Pyramid Texts (PT) and The Book of the Dead (BoD) can be explained by the realization that the PT are

²⁸ PT, § 749 c/d and PT, 210, § 130.

²⁹ Hays, *Field of Rushes*,

³⁰ Hays, *Field of Rushes*, 178. On page 197 it is stated that the booth in the Field of Rushes might have a connection with receiving good food and drink there, thus giving this field a connotation with sustenance (see CT, 174, § III, 60).

³¹ CT, 404, § 199 b.

³² CT, spell 466 (V, 353).

³³ CT, spell 464 (V, 339).

³⁴ CT, spell 464 (V, 344-6).

³⁵ Roeten, *Decoration*, Figure X.6 (page 209).

a compilation of texts meant for the resurrection of the king, for his voyage to the Field of Rushes after which he ascended to the heavens in order to take his place between the gods. For the king the Field of Rushes was no more than a place of transition and not a place where he would stay, which made any further description of them less relevant. The non-royal deceased stayed in the tomb and had no connection with these fields.

After the introduction of the cult of Osiris the non-royal dead could now go to these fields too but he/she had to stay there because a non-royal ascending to heaven was not included in the new ideas about life after death.

However, at sunset the sun god enters the underworld and unites with Osiris in order to be reborn again, and the *b3* of the deceased had to return to his tomb to spend the night there, only to rise again in the morning.³⁶

³⁶ Dijk, van, *Paradise*.

Chapter Eight

The rebirth of the deceased¹

I. Introduction

Although death is inevitable, the Egyptians did not see it as the end of life; they saw it as a phase between life on earth and life as an '3h' in the world of the gods.²

O King, you have not departed dead, you have departed alive.....³

....that I may live every day, just as Re lives every day.⁴

The fundamental idea of the mortuary architecture and the cult of the deceased, combined with the funerary rituals and the daily cult in the chapel of the tomb, is to secure his or her resurrection and an eternal after-life. Because the after-life was thought to closely resemble physical life as it had been on earth, one of the things that the deceased needed was food and drink.⁵ Whether the deceased dwelt in the tomb or whether he/she stayed in the Field of Rushes was irrelevant, the need for sustenance for the *k3* of the deceased remained of vital importance.

This was achieved not only by actually placing offerings in front of the false door to make it possible for the *k3* of the deceased to obtain his sustenance, it was also accomplished by means of depiction of the food itself and of scenes

¹ Although the term 'rebirth' is rather carelessly used in the Egyptological literature, its meaning is 'continuation of life after death'. LÄ, VI, 1246-61, s.v. 'Wiedergeburt', there 1246.

² LÄ, VI, 1246-61, s.v. 'Wiedergeburt', there 1246-7.

³ PT, § 134.

⁴ CT II, 265.

⁵ For which the 'opening of the mouth' ritual was essential.

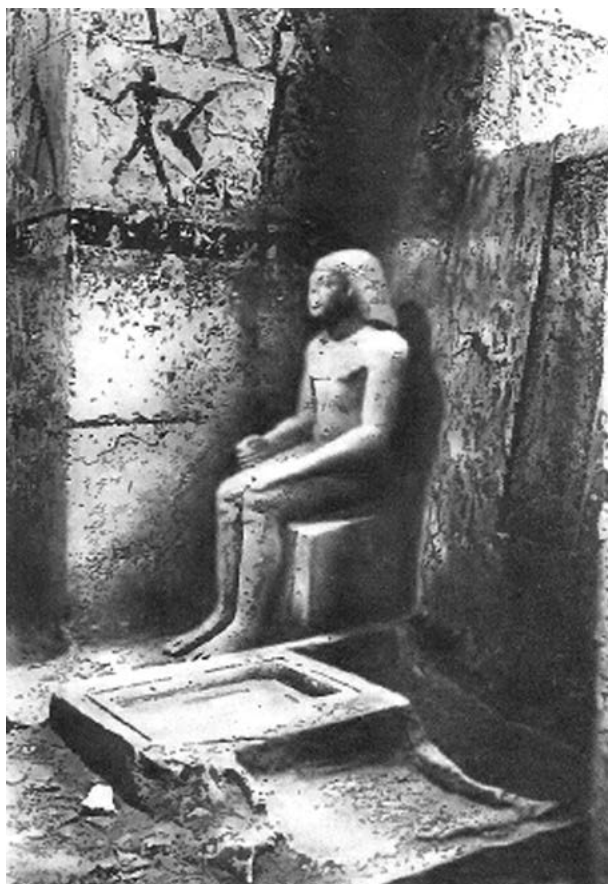


Figure 87. A libation basin and a statue of the tomb owner in front of the false door in the tomb of *ḥtj-mrw-nswt* (PM, III/1, 80 – 1) (from ASAE, 13-14 (1914), Plate 11b).

showing activities that had a connection with its production (e.g. agricultural scenes, bread and beer production), thus providing sustenance in a magical way.

During life two meta-physical entities were present in the body, the *k3* and the *b3*, which left the body upon death.⁶ The disruption of this unity was seen as temporary, because the placing of the preserved body in the tomb made it possible for the *k3* to reunite with it, thus resurrecting the deceased.⁷ The *k3* remained in the tomb, although it had some mobility there, since it could leave

⁶ Kanawati, *Burial customs*, 20.

⁷ The consequence is that the deceased is ‘really’ dead (lifeless) during the mummification process.

the body in the burial chamber, go through the false door and partake in the offerings that were brought to the chapel. The *b3* could leave the tomb during the day, but both had to spend the night with the body. This made preservation of the body a necessity for continuation of life in the world of the dead.

At first burial of the deceased directly in the sand of the desert preserved the body by means of desiccation. A gradual increase in the custom of burying the dead in a coffin or a sarcophagus made this natural desiccation process impossible, an outcome which provoked the introduction of mummification.⁸ If it happened that the preserved body was lost (in spite of all the efforts to make the burial chamber impenetrable),⁹ statues as a possible future substitute were placed either in the chapel itself or in a *serdab* (Figure 87).

It is possible that some decorative themes were connected with the resurrection idea, the bed-making scene being the most obvious example; possibly the water lily flower had the same implication.¹⁰ The sight of a flower bud growing to the surface of the water, emerging and then opening, has led to the plant being connected with the primeval appearance from the waters of Nun.

II. The bed scene

II.1. *The making of the bed*

In a number of tombs a scene has been placed on the wall of a bed being prepared by servants who cover it with sheets and place a headrest on it (Figure 88).¹¹ According to V. Vasiljević this is one of the few scenes in which, in most cases only servants are depicted engaged in an activity without the tomb owner being present.¹² The surroundings of the bed scene are not uniform, and the bed can even be placed on a ship (Figure 89).¹³

The first examples of the scene can be found in tombs at Giza, Saqqara and Dahshur,¹⁴ and at the end of the Old Kingdom in provincial tombs too.

⁸ Clark, *Tomb security II*, 1-2.

⁹ Clark, *Tomb security I and II*.

¹⁰ Walsem, van, *Iconography*, 72 ff. rejects the proposition of some scholars which consider the fish-spearing and the scene in which bird are hunted with a throw-stick as a rebirth theme.

¹¹ In the burial chamber of *K3.j-m-ḥnḥ* (PM, III/1, 131 – 3) a bed-making scene is depicted with the head rest standing under the bed, while on the same wall a bed is depicted that appears to be already made because the head rest is standing on the bed, and no servants are in the vicinity (Kanawati, *Giza I*, Plate 1a, b).

¹² Vasiljević, *Gefolge*, 97.

¹³ Altenmüller, *Ikonomie*, 307-8.

¹⁴ An example of the scene in Dahshur in Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, 199 (no.1777). Date possibly VI.1

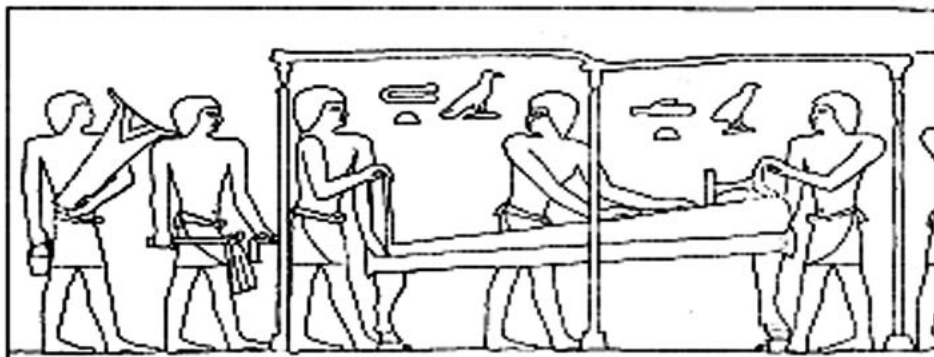


Figure 88. Bed-making scene in the tomb of
K3.j-m-ḥ (PM, III/1, 131 – 3; date: VI.1;
 Junker, *Giza IV*, Figure 10A).¹⁵

The bed stands in a construction that can be interpreted as a room that can be entered; the latter aspect is sometimes shown by way of a door that is placed in the wall of the construction, while sometimes this room is divided into an ante-chamber and the bedroom itself.¹⁶

To the best of our knowledge the oldest example of this decoration theme dates from the end of the 4th dynasty, and shows two women preparing a bed (tomb of *Mr.s-ḥ* [III], PM, III/1, 197-9; date: IV.6).¹⁷

On the northern wall of the chapel of *Jrw-k3-Pth* (PM, III/2, 639) are two registers with a bed-making scene. In the scene in the highest register a servant is spreading a sheet over the bed. In the register underneath the bed is nearly ready and a servant brings a headrest and a flail. The headrest is a piece of furniture that is normal for this type of bed scene, and the flail, an instrument to drive away flies, can also be interpreted as such within this scene.

Altenmüller states that the bed is an icon that has a connection with Osiris, a statement which would indicate that the cult of Osiris was already (latently?) present at the end of the 4th dynasty,¹⁸ and he places the deification of Osiris

according to Harpur, *DETOK*, 279[614].

¹⁵ In this tomb the bed-making scene has been placed on the southern wall of the burial chamber too (Junker, *Giza IV*, Plate XIV).

¹⁶ Moussa, *Craftsmen*, Plate I.

¹⁷ Dunham, *Gmast I*, Figure 9.

¹⁸ Altenmüller, *Ikönographie*, 305.

at the end of the 4th dynasty or early in the 5th dynasty.¹⁹ This statement also implies that in the bed-scene in the tomb of *Mr.s-ḥ* [III] the introduction of an Osirian connection would lead to the conclusion that the two women readying the bed can be seen as Isis and Nephthys.

This conclusion is in fact superfluous, because a woman belonging to the upper strata of society would have female servants, as also can be seen in the chapel of *Wḥt-ḥt-ḥr* (PM, III/2, 534-5) where she is sitting in a palanquin carried by female porters.²⁰ Moreover in the tomb of *Nb.t* (PM, III/2, 624-5) it is evident that the servants standing directly behind her are females. This Isis and Nephthys interpretation leaves open the question how to interpret the making of the bed

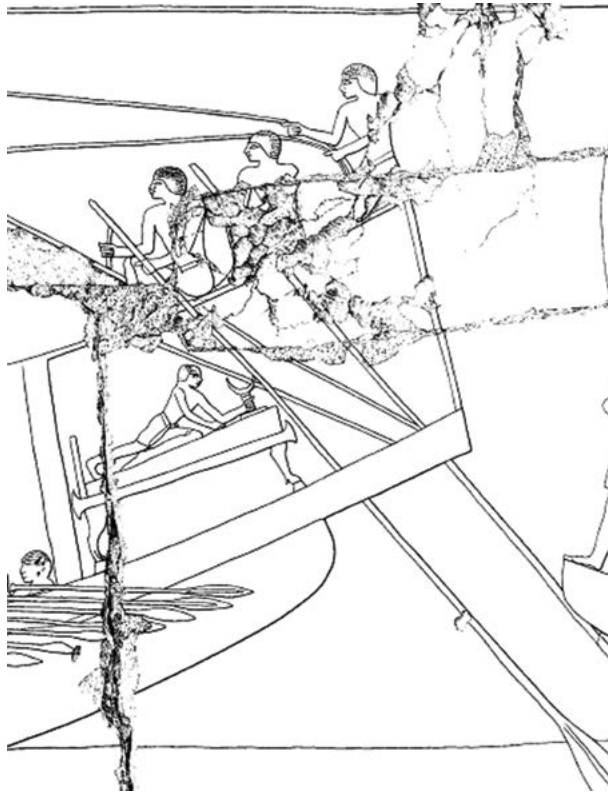


Figure 89. Tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 525 – 34)
(Duell, *Mereruka*, Vol. II, Plate 141).

¹⁹ Ibidem, 315 – 6.

²⁰ McFarlane, *Transportation*, Figure 18 (page 162).

by one person, in this case a male, as in Figure 89, while in Figure 88 more than two male servants are preparing the bed of the male tomb owner.

In the mastaba of *Mrrw-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 525-34) a bed-making scene and a marital bed-scene are placed in room A-10. The observation that there are some tombs in which the decoration is intact that have a bed-making scene on the wall while the marital bed-scene is not present leads to the conclusion that the former type of bed-making scene does not have a direct link with rebirth in the after-life, a conclusion which is supported by the chronology given in Figure 92.

However, a real bed standing in what can be interpreted as a bedroom, was a piece of furniture that was only within reach of the upper social stratum and thus it is possible that it is only depicted to show the wealth of the deceased and his family.

II.2. The marital bed scene

In the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 525 – 34) the scene on site 50 in the plan of the tomb (PM, III/1, room A.X, plan LVI) deviates from the regular pattern in that the tomb owner is sitting on the bed while his wife is kneeling down in front of him playing the harp (Figure 90). The male tomb owner is holding a flail (probably a fly-whisk) and a staff. As previously mentioned the headrest and the flail can be interpreted as part of a normal bed situation; however, the presence of the staff makes this scene different.

According to P. Duell, this scene is part of a story that depicts the making of the bed,²¹ the tomb owner and his wife walking in the direction of the chamber where the bed is prepared,²² and the tomb owner with his wife playing the harp while sitting on the bed.²³

Following this sequence of scenes H. Altenmüller interprets this room as a ‘birth-house’ (‘GeburtsHaus’).²⁴

This type of scene is rare, the OEE database cites only two examples of it, one of which is situated in the provincial necropolis of Meir (tomb D 1, a rock cut tomb of the scribe and judge *Ppj*, which in PM, IV, 254 is dated in the Old Kingdom and in the OEE database in VI.6-7?) (Figure 91).²⁵

²¹ Duell, *Mereruka*, Vol. I, Plates 92 and 93.

²² Duell, *Mereruka*, Vol. I, Plate 91.

²³ Duell, *Mereruka*, Vol. I, Plates 94 and 95.

²⁴ Altenmüller, *Geburtsschrein*, 30.

²⁵ Blackman, *Meir*, Plates XLV, LXVI(3).



Figure 90. Bed scene *Mrrw-k3.j* of site 50 in plan LVI of PM, III/2. (Duell, Mereruka, Vol. I, Plates 94-5). Date: VI.1.

H. Altenmüller states that the two forms of the bed scene are both aspects of the same basic idea: rebirth. According to his hypothesis the bed-making scene shows the preparation of the bier (which would make it a funerary scene) and the tomb owner sitting on the bed with a woman playing an instrument (in this case the harp) shows the deceased, who has been reborn by his wife (self-conception).²⁶ This raises the question of how to interpret this, in the event that the deceased is a woman.²⁷

It is noteworthy that in this type of scene (Figures 90 and 91) no headrest is present; this could mean that this scene just shows the affection between husband and wife, and has no connection with sleep or death.²⁸

However, the goddess Hathor is connected with music and rebirth, while in a hymn she is called ‘the mistress of harp-playing’ (for a further discussion of

²⁶ Altenmüller, *Ikon*, 309.

²⁷ Hereby ignoring the question of whether this scene would have been placed in the chapel of a female tomb owner. Roth, *Conception, fertility*, 198 – 9, brings the same question to the fore.

²⁸ O’Connor, *Afterlife*, 630 calls the scene of the tomb owner and his wife on a bed explicitly sexual.



Figure 91. Bed scene in the tomb of *Ppj* at Meir (PM, IV, 254). Date: VI.6 – 7(?).

the goddess Hathor see Appendix VIII.1), meaning that the scene might have a different intention. An argument against that is that, in view of the function of a chapel, depictions of physical death and sexuality in explicit form were not placed on its walls, although depictions of direct sexuality existed in drawing on papyrus,²⁹ or in the form of statues.³⁰

The two existing depictions of a man and a woman on a bed are certainly not of that type, and this could lead to the conclusion that affection between a man and a woman was not considered unacceptable within the context of a chapel.

III. The objects in the scenes

III.1. Furniture

Beds as funerary offerings had already been depicted on the east wall of the corridor chapel in the tomb of *Hsjj-r^c* (PM, III/2, 437-9; III.E).

In some later bed scenes, vases and/or furniture have been placed under the bed. In Table VII.b the Memphite tombs that are adequately described are gathered and the presence/absence of vases/furniture is included.³¹ In contrast to Figure 88, in Figures 90 and 91 furniture is depicted under the bed and according to Schäfer this could mean that the bed is standing in a room surrounded by pieces

²⁹ Erotic papyrus of Turin.

³⁰ Brooklyn Museum nr. 58.13; the statue 'erotic musicians' (Brooklyn Museum, nr. 58.34) may be an erotic exaggeration or caricature of the representation of the scene in Figure 90.

³¹ In order to reach a conclusion the tomb of *Ppj* (PM, IV, 254) at Meir has been included in the diagram.

	IV.E	IV.L	V.E	V.M	V.L	V.IE	V.II	
Bed-making scene								funerary
Furniture/vases								funerary
Marital bed-scene								rebirth
Osiris cult		?	?	?				rebirth

Figure 92. The chronology of some items related to rebirth and funeral.

of furniture, making it a bedroom without a funerary or rebirth connection, and strengthening the idea that only marital affection is shown, in a non-erotic way.³²

Furniture and vases were depicted under the bed from the transition of the 5th to the 6th dynasty on. It started with a single object, but over the course of the 6th dynasty the space underneath the depiction of the bed became completely filled with them.

Another possible interpretation is that to the bed, which was possibly at first a funerary symbol, during the period in which the Osiris cult emerged, sometimes another funerary scene (furniture and vases as funerary offerings), and sometimes a scene with a rebirth connotation (the marital bed-scene) was added.³³ This would give the bed-scene a connection with the rebirth idea of the Osirian cult (see Figure 92).

III.2. *The headrest in the bed making scene*

The headrest was in daily use from the 1st dynasty on,³⁴ and it was, together with the bed, a piece of furniture necessary in order to enable a good sleep, although, considering its height, it must have been uncomfortable to use while lying in a supine position.

Furthermore it was not only depicted in the bed-scene, but was also part of the whole funerary tradition in being an important part of the funerary

³² Schäfer, *Principles*, Figure 159; page 140.

³³ The late introduction of the marital bed scene may be due to the vicissitudes of archaeological evidence.

³⁴ Petrie, *Objects*, 33.

equipment,³⁵ because of its connotations with ideas of resurrection and not losing the head.³⁶

But sleep was also considered to be an area where the world of the living and the world of the dead were in contact, an area where earthly life and after-life overlapped.³⁷ The deceased was actually sleeping and therefore required the necessary furniture.

This suggests that the whole bed-making scene is a funerary scene; the deceased is going to be asleep on that bed and needs a headrest just as he/she has done during their living 'days'.³⁸

It also means that the scene of husband and wife sitting on the bed cannot be interpreted as a funerary scene because the headrest is not present.

The importance of the headrest is visible in the paintings on the wall of the eastern corridor in the chapel of the tomb of *Hsjj-R* (PM, III/2, 437–9; III.E).³⁹ These paintings can be interpreted as an inventory offering list, thus making them part of the funerary equipment which was placed in the substructure of the tomb.⁴⁰

The headrest (wrs) is sometimes mentioned in inventory offering lists. Some examples are:⁴¹

³⁵ In Table VII.a in 16 of the 26 tombs mentioned (62%) a head rest is depicted in the vicinity of the bed.

³⁶ Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, spell 166 (page 162). Part of the text of the spell is as follows: 'Spell for a headrest (to put under the head of Osiris N). Doves awake thee from sleep, O, N.; Raise thyself, (for) thou dost triumph over what was done against thee....Thy head cannot be taken from the hereafter; thy head can never be taken from (thee).' Although the text does not mention that the headrest is a weres amulet, in the index (page 261) it is mentioned as 'headrest (wrs), 166 § P (an amulet)'. The headrest is also mentioned in the Coffin Texts (spell 934, CT VII, 136: 'O, N. I raise your head for you; you shall live....').

³⁷ LÄ, V, 642–4, s.v. 'Schlaf', LÄ, II, 1101–2, s.v. 'Heilschlaf'. Sleep is also mentioned in spell 166 of the Book of the Dead.

³⁸ In Altenmüller, *Mehu*, Plate 19a, this is shown during the transport of the mummified body of the tomb owner, where the mummy is laying on a bed and a head-rest can be seen.

³⁹ Quibell, *Hesj*, Plate XIV.

⁴⁰ Over the course of the 4th dynasty the importance of the inventory offering list began to decrease, and disappeared at the end of this dynasty. It reappeared in the chapel and sometimes in the burial chamber at the end of the Old Kingdom, but the list was also placed on the wooden coffins of the FIP and the MK (a headrest is depicted in the interior of the inner coffin of *Snj*; 11th – 12th dynasty; Deir el-Bersha; BM 30842).

⁴¹ It is not clear whether, if a headrest is mentioned in the inventory offering list, this is the headrest that was normally placed in the coffin (if so, this was probably the headrest that the deceased had used during his life-time) or whether this was an extra headrest, which would make it an item of more intrinsic meaning than just a piece of furniture to support the head during sleep.

- On the panel of the false door of *Mtn* (PM, III/2, 493-4, IV.1-2).⁴⁶
- A fragment of a slab-stele has an inventory offering list with a headrest mentioned in it.⁴⁷
- On the panel of the false door of *R^c-htp* (PM, IV, 90-1).⁴⁸

The headrest in the form of an amulet (*weres* amulet) could be placed either within the bandages of the mummy or under its head, and was meant to protect the preserved body from losing its head.

In the richer burials such an object, very often made of wood or alabaster, was either placed under the head of the deceased,⁴⁹ or next to the head if the deceased was lying in a supine position.⁵⁰

In poorer burials mud-bricks or stones were often used as headrests,⁵¹ thus showing that, whatever the form, a headrest was considered to be a necessity.⁵²

IV. The chronological development of the number of tombs with the bed scene

In the database of OEE this scene can be found under number 13.1.1. The database gives 27 tombs with this scene of which 19 are situated in the Memphite area.⁵³ These 27 tombs are gathered in Table VII.a.

Because the aim of this part of the study is to determine how many tomb owners decided to incorporate this scene in their chapel decoration, and not how many times the scene was employed, every tomb is counted only once, even if the scene is depicted several times in a tomb.⁵⁴

the headrests depicted in the tomb of *Hsji-R^c* (PM, III/2, 437-9; III.E) to the best of our current archaeological knowledge, the oldest mention of the headrest.

⁴⁶ LD II, 3.

⁴⁷ Junker, *Giza I*, Figure 53 (G 2135; PM, III/1, 75; date IV.M or IV.L).

⁴⁸ Harper, *Maidum*, Figure 171 (page 232).

⁴⁹ Vymazalová, *Abusir XXII*, Plate 8 (page 185); Hassan, *Giza II*, Plate L.

⁵⁰ Bárta, *Abusir XXIII*, Plates 3.1a and 3.2; Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim no. 21 has been found in situ in the coffin with the head of the deceased still resting on it. Hassan, *Giza II*, Plate L.

⁵¹ Duliková, *Stamp seal*, 71. Roth, *Gmast* 6, Plate 12b. Der Manuelian, *Gmast* 8, Figure 16.13 shows a headrest made of limestone.

⁵² LÄ, III, 686 – 93, s.v. 'Kopfstütze'.

⁵³ An unknown tomb in Saqqara (OEE nr. 13.1.1(19)) has been omitted because of its unreliable dating (VI).

⁵⁴ An example of this can be found in the mastaba of *Mrrw-k3.j* (PM, III/2, 525-34). In PM, III/2 plan LVI the scene has been placed on sites 50, 51 and 72 (all three sites belong to the chapel of *Mrrw-k3.j*).

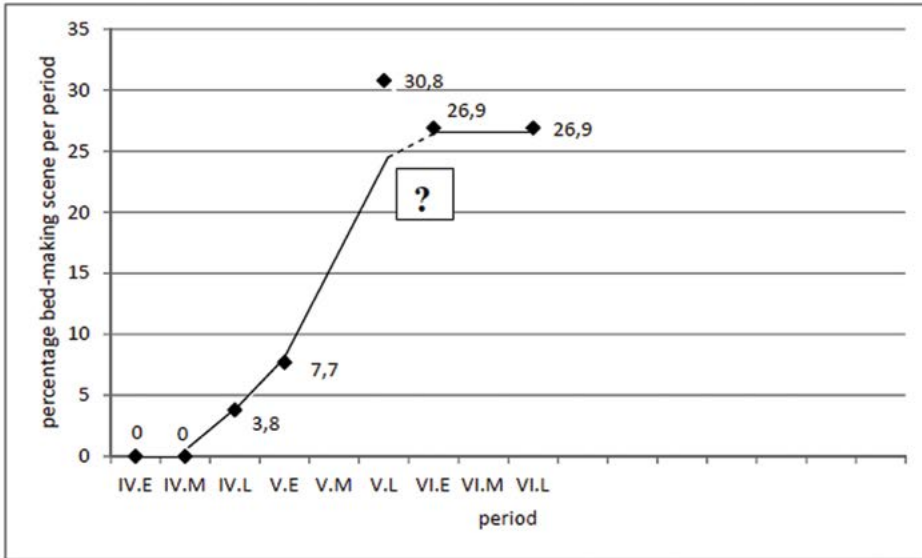


Figure 94. The chronological development of the bed-making scene.

If the calculated percentages are gathered in a diagram (Figure 94) the curve of the chronological development shows that the scene had already been introduced during the transition from the 4th to the 5th dynasty. From the end of the 5th dynasty the frequency of use of the scene starts to level off.

V. The flower of the water lily

V.1. The description of the plants and the flowers

The flower often depicted by the ancient Egyptians and wrongly called ‘the lotus’ in Egyptology is in reality either a blue diurnal water lily (*Nymphaea caerulea*) (Figures 95 and 96) or a white nocturnal specimen (*Nymphaea lotus* L.). Neither of them are real lotuses (*Nelumbo nucifera*) (Figure 97).⁵⁵ The flower does rise out of the water in the morning; although often stated otherwise, when the flower closes at the end of the day it does not sink back under the surface to emerge again the next day.⁵⁶ In reality the flower fades, sinks to the bottom, to decompose there; and the next day a new stem emerges to give either a leaf or a (new) flower.

⁵⁵ LÄ, III, 1091 – 6, s.v. ‘Lotos’ states that the real lotus (*Nelumbo nucifera*) was present in Egypt from the Late Period on.

⁵⁶ This in contrary to the statements made in LÄ, III, 1091-6, s.v. ‘Lotos’, there 1092 and LÄ, VI, 1246-61, s.v. Wiedergeburt’, there 1247.



Figure 95. The flower of the *Nymphaea caerulea* (side view).



Figure 96. The flower of the *Nymphaea caerulea* (top view).



Figure 97. The flower of the *Nelumbo nucifera*.

The scent of the blue water-lily is more marked than that of the white specimen.⁵⁷

The view of the inside of both flowers in Figures 96 and 97 clearly shows the difference between the water lily and the true lotus.

V.2. The alkaloid content of the plant

It is often remarked that the *Nymphaea caerulea* has physiological and psychological effects on the human biological system. The plant contains the alkaloid apomorphine, which is not only psychoactive but also has several physiological effects in some diseases (e.g. Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease), and, possibly of interest for this study, it has some effect on erectile dysfunction by enhancing desire, but within modern medical terms it is regarded as of little efficacy. Furthermore apomorphine acts as an emetic (a vomiting inducing substance).⁵⁸

No reliable information can be obtained about any possible sedative effect of the perfume of the flower, and, if this effect would indeed be present, why would it have been only women that until late in the 5th dynasty wanted to sedate themselves (Figure 113)?

⁵⁷ Kantor, *Swamp plants*, 57. Conrad, *Waterlilies*, 7, 194.

⁵⁸ Although rare, vomiting was depicted in banquet scenes in 18th dynasty tombs in the Theban area (*Dsr-k3-R^c-snb* (PM, I, 69 – 70) and *Nfr-htp* (PM, I, 91 – 5).

Therefore it has to be supposed that the sedative effect cannot be reached by smelling the flower; to obtain that effect parts of the plant have to be macerated in an alcoholic beverage like wine.⁵⁹ This means that the Old Kingdom depiction of the three postures (see below: items 1-3) with the flower has no direct link with sedation and with what might have been reality.⁶⁰

Thus the Old Kingdom depictions of the water lily flower in connection with humans must be interpreted as a representation of the good life. Later, in the New Kingdom, the abundance of the flower in the decoration of the chapel, including its use as an offering in front of depictions of gods, a symbolic function might be attributed to the various representations of this flower.

V.3. *The flower in the decoration of the chapel*

The flower of the water lily is depicted in a number of situations in the decoration of the chapel:

1. It can be directly presented to the tomb owner.
2. The tomb owner can hold it in his hand without smelling.
3. The tomb owner can be depicted smelling the flower.
4. It can be carried to the deceased by an offering bearer or a member of the family.⁶¹
5. It can be part of the offerings that are meant for the deceased.⁶²
6. In a *serekh* false door two Egyptian water lily flowers are tied together: this theme can be used as decoration of the canopy of palanquins. There is some doubt about the type of flower that is depicted, that of the water lily or papyrus.⁶³

⁵⁹ Maceration is the process of soaking the flowers or other parts of the plant in water, or more effective, in alcohol or an alcohol-containing liquid, in order to extract chemical compounds out of the plant.

⁶⁰ What might have been reality can be seen in the chapel of *Dsr-k3-R^c-snb* (TT 38; PM, I/1, 69-70, dated to Thutmose IV (XVIII.7)). This extremely rare scene depicts a man vomiting which might have been due to excessive use of alcohol, but it can also be provoked by the emetic effect of the alkaloid apomorphine from the *Nymphaea caerulea* flowers that could have been macerated in the wine.

⁶¹ McFarlane, *Behind the scenes*, Plate 2.

⁶² The seeds, stems and rhizomes of blue water lilies are edible (the older literature is not clear whether it has to be eaten cooked or un-cooked (Conrad, *Waterlilies*, 7; the recent literature is more clear-cut here (Selkumari, *Phytochemistry Nymphaea*, 98)), while the flower is poisonous in large quantities due to its alkaloid content. The depiction of the flower on the piles of offerings is perhaps meant only as decoration, but, due to the pleasant fragrance of the flower it can also be interpreted as an offering to make the after-life of the deceased somewhat more enjoyable.

⁶³ Walsem, van, *Sense*, 299-300, calls this ornament two water lily flowers bound together, Kantor, *Swamp plants*, 19 describes it as two papyrus heads with short stems bound together. But Kantor,

In this list the numbers 1, 2 and 3 could be considered to be successive stages in a line of action, but table VIII clearly shows that in reality for the male tomb owner the time line is: holding → presenting → smelling. For this line of depiction G. Pieke gives a chronology as given in Figure 98 which is in accordance with the chronology of Table VIII.⁶⁴ The act of presentation could be interpreted as the offering of rebirth and thus be connected with the new Osirian cult that was increasingly becoming a part of the religious consciousness.

Table VIII and Figure 113 indicate that, from the end of the 5th dynasty on, the percentage of male tomb owners smelling the flower increased markedly. This could have no connection with a possible positive effect on erectile dysfunction or sedation because the latter aspect of the smelling of the flower has already been denied, and the former would have little function for female tomb owners, and could furthermore only be induced with an alcoholic maceration.

A possible solution is the rebirth idea with which the flower could be connected and which gained importance after the Osiris cult having been for a relatively long time latently present. Until that moment the smelling of the flower either by female tomb owners or by the occasional male tomb owner had nothing to do with rebirth and was just to enjoy the fragrance of the flower.

Action	IV.E	IV.L	V.E	V.M	V.L	VI.E	VII.L	FIP
Holding								
Presenting								
Smelling								

Figure 98. The chronology of the various depictions of the flower of the water lily (male tomb owners).⁶⁵

Swamp plants, Figure II.34 (page 21) gives the impression that the ornament is indeed composed of two water lily flowers. McFarlane, *Transportation*, Figures 19 and 20 (pages 163 and 164). This type of decoration was already in use on the stele of King Djer (Malek, *Shadow*, Figure on page 34).

⁶⁴ Pieke, *Lotosblume*.

⁶⁵ Table VIII and Pieke, *Lotosblume*, 275-80.



Figure 99. Harvesting lotus flowers in the chapel of *ḏw* (PM, IV, 244-6).

In the chapel of the tombs of e.g. *Nfr-b3w-Pth* (PM, III/1, 169-70) and *ḏw* (PM, IV, 244-6) the harvest of these flowers has been depicted (Figure 99),⁶⁶ though the scene is not employed frequently in the Memphite necropoleis.⁶⁷

The observation of the morning behaviour of the flowers of the *Nymphaea caerulea* easily leads to the idea of a connection with emerging from the primeval waters of Nun. Even more important is that the faded flower sinks under the surface of the water because the seeds have to stay wet and germinate in the mud on the bottom to form a new plant. Because a water-lily plant constantly forms new flowers and leaves that rise up from the bottom, it looks as if the flower that sank yesterday the next day rises again out of the water as if ‘reborn’.⁶⁸

As a result, it is that it is highly probable that during the Old Kingdom the flower was already connected with rebirth. Apart from that it must have been used for its fragrance and its nutritional value too.

During the Old Kingdom the water lily flower was connected with the god Nefertem, a god whose mythology narrated that he was closely related to the sun-god *Rʿ*,⁶⁹ connected with the rising of the sun, thus also in this way linking the water lily flower and the idea of rebirth. This connection with the sun can be deduced from the look of the open flower: a yellow round object with yellow rays protruding from it embedded in a blue surrounding.

⁶⁶ Weeks, *Gmast* 5, Plate 11. In PM the scene is called the harvest of papyrus, while in Figure 99 the difference in mode of depiction between a papyrus umbel and a water lily flower is evident (see Kantor, *Swamp plants*, Figure II.13 (page 15) and Verner, *Abusir*, Plate on page 163).

⁶⁷ Walsem, van, *Mastabase*, Maintheme= MA, sub-theme = H1 gives four tombs with this decoration theme.

⁶⁸ Personal communication of Mrs. C. Teune of the Hortus Botanicus at Leiden.

⁶⁹ LÄ, IV, 378 – 80, s.v. ‘Nefertem’.

The god Nefertem is already mentioned in the PT § 266 as a 'lotus flower', stressing the scent:

'I appear as Nefertem, as the lotus flower which is at the nose of R^c ...'

In Table VIII only the presentation, holding and smelling of water lily flowers are included. It is evident that smelling the fragrance of the flower can be interpreted as a typically female attitude (91%),⁷⁰ while the flower is presented to mainly male tomb owners (presenting = 60%), while male tomb owners holding and smelling the flower are depicted less frequently (holding = 15% and smelling = 25%). It is during the 6th dynasty and the FIP that smelling the flower becomes prevalent for the male tomb owner too.

Even the scene in which a water lily flower is presented to the tomb owner might just be a prelude for smelling the flower, but possibly there was at first (V.E and V.M) some reluctance to show a male tomb owner smelling the flower because of the feminine connotation of the gesture. Apparently some tomb owners had no problem being depicted in that attitude, and because of that the percentage of smelling male tomb owners is 25% and not 0%. Smelling the flower of the water lily was also introduced in royal circles because Pepi I (VI.2) is depicted smelling that flower.⁷¹

In one scene in the tomb of *Hmt-R^c* (PM, III/2, 606) the tomb owner is depicted smelling a water lily flower and in the same scene receiving such a flower from a son (Figure 93).⁷² In the tomb of *Iymry* (PM, III/1, 170-4) and in the tomb of *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw* (PM, III/2, 641-4), two aspects of the ritual use of the flower are present as well (see table VIII), but in both tombs they are depicted in two different subthemes and located in two different rooms.⁷³ Although, due to the small number of instances, the evidence is weak, nevertheless it might indicate

⁷⁰ A depiction of the female tomb owner receiving the flower is extremely rare, there is only one case in which the flower is offered to the tomb owner (*Hmt-R^c* (PM, III/1, 243-4; G 8464)).

⁷¹ Petrie, *Abydos II*, Plate XX.

⁷² Hassan, *Giza VI(3)*, Figure 44. Confusion with the papyrus umbel is not really possible, because papyrus is not a plant that was presented, although parts of the plant are edible. Normally it was harvested for the production of paper, boats and a variety of other things.

⁷³ For *Iymry* see Weeks, *Gmast* 5, smelling: Plate 36, room II, presenting: Plate 43, room III. For *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw* see PM, III/2, plan LXVI, smelling on 16a/b and holding on 20. A possible reason for the feminine act of smelling the water lily flower might be that *Hnmw-htp* is the submissive partner of a homoerotic couple (Evans, *Twins*), another reason could be that the actual date of the tomb is somewhat later than V.M as given in PM, III/2, in which case this would be an early example of the depiction of the male tomb owner smelling the flower as a consequence of the introduction of the Osiris cult.

that the tomb of *Hmt-R*^c can be dated to the same period as the tombs of *Tymry* and *Nj-^cnh-Hnmw* (V.M).

Y. Harpur gives as an argument for dating the tomb of *Hmt-R*^c to the period IV.L that holding the stem of the flower between two fingers is typically a posture of the 4th dynasty, while in the 5th and the 6th dynasty the stem was held with the whole hand and the fingers closed.⁷⁴ But in the chapel of *Mrs-^cnh* [III] the tomb owner holds the stem between two fingers, but a servant holds the stem with his whole hand (Figure 78).

VI. Activities in the marshes

Only the marsh activities that are not based on labour (clap-net, bird-trapping, gathering papyrus, etc.) are taken into account:

- Hunting, this scene can be divided in:
 - Fish spearing.
 - Fowling with the throw-stick.
 - Hippopotamus hunt.
- Cruising.
- Papyrus rattling (pulling).⁷⁵

Some of these activities will be further studied in order to determine whether they possibly have a connection with rebirth ideas.

VI.1. Spearing fish and fowling with a throw-stick

Some scholars interpret the scene in which the tomb owner is hunting in the marshes, sometimes accompanied by his wife and children, but certainly with servants around, as a scene that is, by way of a sexual connotation,⁷⁶ connected with rebirth. In appendix VIII.1 the connection between Hathor and the papyrus fields has been discussed, and because the hunting scenes are enacted in the marshes, a possible connection with rebirth cannot be denied without further thought.

Apart from the sportive and leisure element which makes the marshes of the delta interesting, this possible connection might be an extra reason for the

⁷⁴ Harpur, *DETOK*, 134. In Dunham, *Gmast 1*, Figure 3b the water lily is held between two fingers, but in Figure 4 the stem is held with the whole hand and has the loop in the stem which is a common feature from the 4th dynasty onward.

⁷⁵ For a discussion of this activity see appendix VIII.1.

⁷⁶ Walsem, van, *Iconography*, 72-7.

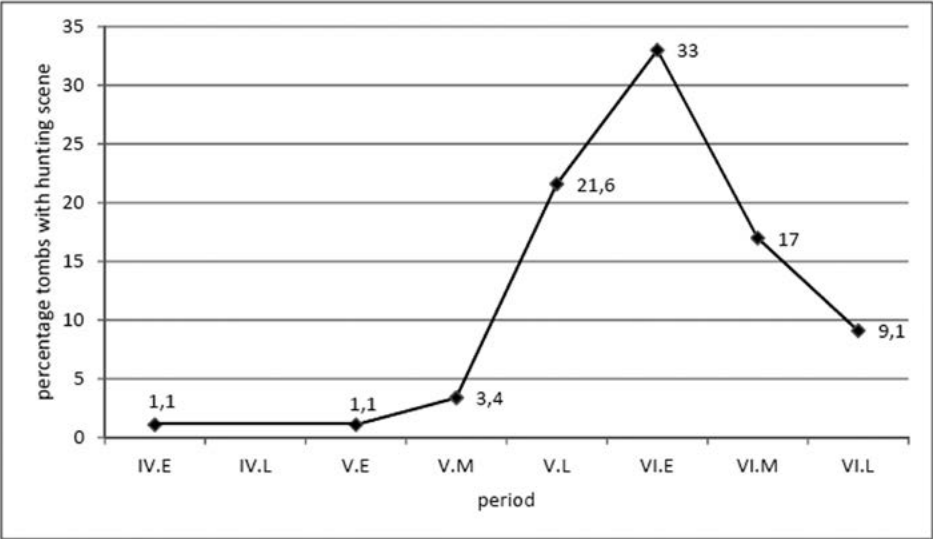


Figure 100. The percentage of tombs with the scene 'hunting in the marshes'.

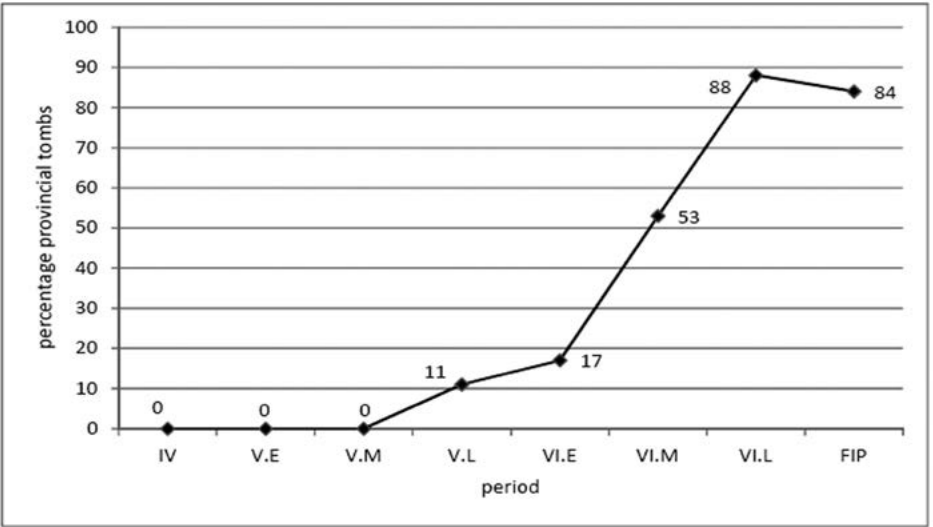


Figure 101. The percentage of provincial tombs with hunting in the marshes scene.

deep involvement that the Egyptian elite had with this area from the later part of the 5th dynasty on. This is corroborated if it is taken into account that, if the elite interest in the marshes had only been sportive, the depiction of the scene would have been more common already in periods earlier than the period V.M-V.L.

The database of OEE gives for 'Spear-fishing and/or fowling scene' (scene 1.1) 93 tombs in which the scene is depicted; of these five are not dated securely enough to be included in the catalogue (Table IX).

The data base gives the chapel of *Nfr-m3ʿt* (PM, IV, 92-4; IV.1E-M) as the oldest depiction of hunting activity in the marshes. There is no illustration available of the scene, although Mariette mentions 'Le défunt chasse dans les roseaux...',⁷⁷ which Harpur translates as 'the deceased is fowling...'.⁷⁸

The tombs are dated according to the chronology described in the introduction of this study and for each period the number of tombs with the scene is expressed as a percentage of the total catalogue (88 tombs). The percentages thus obtained are gathered in a curve in Figure 100.

The marked increase from early in the 5th dynasty might lead to the conclusion that a connection with the emerging Osiris cult existed, and that the rebirth element of this cult was connected with the rebirth idea of Hathor and the fields of papyrus and water lilies. After the period VI.E the number of tombs decreases, a development which cannot be explained by a declining interest in the Osiris cult.

If in the catalogue the percentage of non-Memphite tombs with this scene is determined the curve of Figure 101 is obtained. In this curve it is evident that in the period VI.E the percentage of provincial tombs with the scene increased markedly, which is the same period that in the Memphite area (Figure 100) the decrease sets in. This means that with the number of Memphite tombs with the marsh hunt scene decreasing, the few tombs with this scene were of provincial origin.

A possible explanation is that the marshes of the delta were too far away from the provincial settlements which resulted in the marshes not being part of the sphere of interest of the local elite.⁷⁹ This conclusion, however, also means

⁷⁷ Mariette, *Mastabas*, 473.

⁷⁸ Harpur, *Maidum*, 180.

⁷⁹ Papyrus is a plant that grows in fresh shallow water or water-saturated soil. In pharaonic times it grew in the delta and in shallow spots fringing the river. The latter cannot give the long stretches

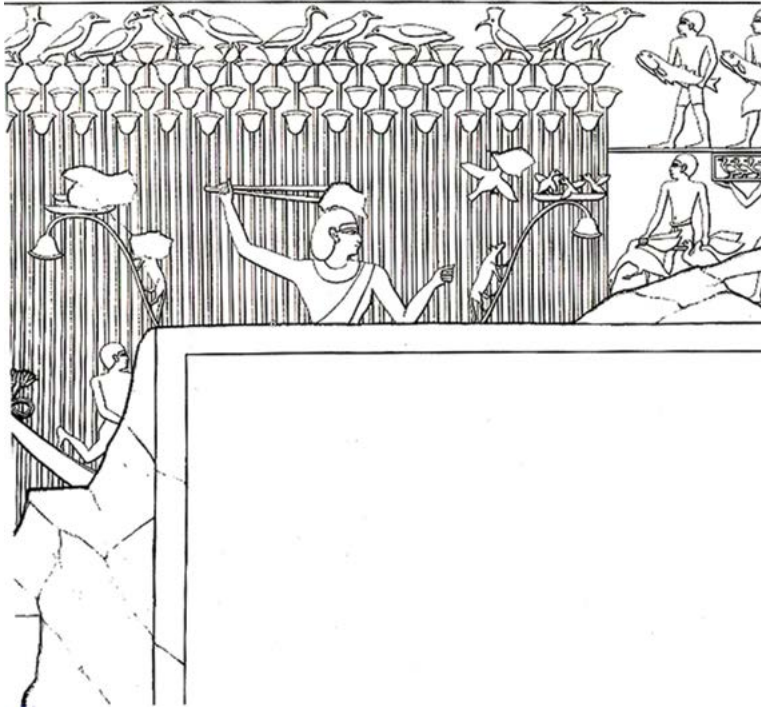


Figure 102. The male version of rattling papyrus
(LD, II, 12b; *Nb.j-m-3ht*, PM, III/1, 230-2).

that the hunting activity in the marshes had no connection with rebirth ideas whether directly related to Osiris, or indirectly by way of Hathor; otherwise the scene would have been important in the provincial tombs too.⁸⁰

VI.2. Rattling (pulling) papyrus⁸¹

The data bank of OEE gives for this scene (no. 1.3) a total of 26 tombs. Three of them are not dated in such a way that they can be included in the catalogue

of deep thickets of plants that were normal in the delta. This made the hunting activities outside the delta a less appealing activity.

⁸⁰ Swinton, *Dating tombs OK*, 77 states that the scene of pulling papyrus in the chapel of a male tomb owner is last attested in V.9, which is not in concordance with table X. The date of the first appearance of the scene depicting the hunting activities is V.M (Table IX). Based on these arguments a connection with Osiris is considered possible.

⁸¹ In Hannig, *Wörterbuch Ä-D*, 768 The Egyptian word *sšš* is translated as 'sorting (out)', 'pulling' and 'rattling'.

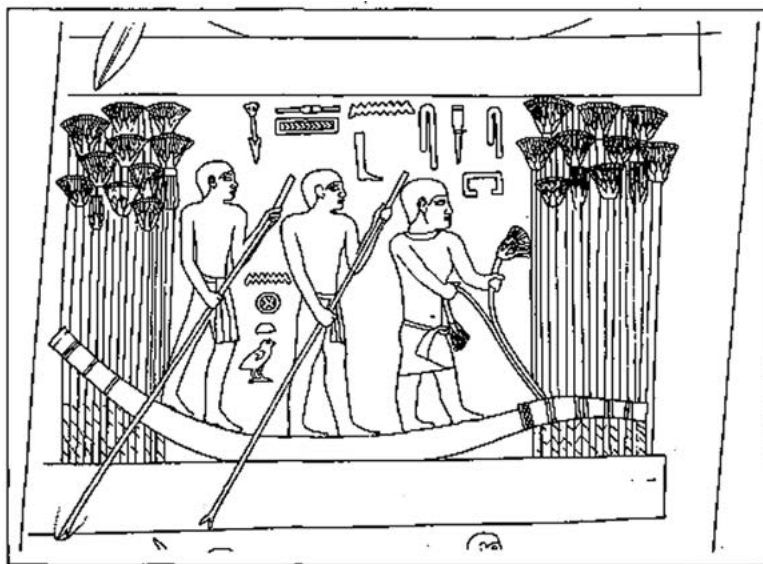


Figure 103. *Snb* (PM, III/1, 101-3) rattling papyrus stems (Junker, *Giza V*, Figure 15 (page 67)).

(Table X).⁸² The first attestation of the scene is in the tomb of *Mrs-ḥnh* [III] (PM, III/1, 197-9; date: IV.6). It can be derived from the catalogue that the scene is most ‘popular’ during the period V.L – VI.E. This places the fish spearing scene and the rattling of papyrus close enough in time to consider the possibility that a connection exists between them. The man is depicted in the rattling scene with two papyrus stems raised in a hand high above his head in the same way he raises a forked spear in order to catch fish.⁸³

This suggests that a day of activities in the marshes probably started with the rattling of papyrus by the ladies, while the man not only rattled the papyrus, but, if he intended to catch some fish, he also pulled (or cut) two stems and bound them together. Very often the tomb owner holds the two stems raised above his head (Figure 102). The male version of the rattling scene is not always the tomb owner raising a hand holding two papyrus stems. In the second corridor in the tomb of *Tjj* (PM, III/2, 468-78) the tomb owner is standing in a boat with a papyrus stem in each hand in the action of rattling. This also

⁸² In the mastaba of *Nb.t* (PM, III/2, 624-5) PM, III/2 describes the activity depicted on wall 2 of room I as ‘spearing fish’, in reality this the ‘rattling of papyrus’ as is stated by OEE and Walsem, van, *Mastabase*.

⁸³ For the male version of the rattling scene: Harpur, *DETOK*, Figure 71 (page 476). For the fishing and fowling scene: Harpur, *DETOK*, Figure 70 (page 475).

suggests that in the papyrus rattling (pulling) scene in the tomb of the dwarf *Snb* (PM, III/1, 101-3) the fact that the tomb owner is depicted rattling and not pulling the papyrus stems is not based on lack of physical strength but could be based on the choice to fowl and not to spear fish (Figure 103).⁸⁴

Appendix VIII.1. The goddess Hathor



The name of Hathor was already known in the 3rd dynasty, an example being the female name *Nfr-ḥtp-ḥwt-ḥr* (PM, III/2, 449-50) that has been found in a tomb that can be dated to III.M – IV.E.⁸⁵ The title prophetess of Hathor goes back to the early 4th dynasty (*Mr-jt.s* [II] (PM, III/1, 200-1; date: IV.2-4); *Mrjj*, (PM, III/2, 501-2, date IV.4)

This function was very often given to:

- The wives of high officials of non-royal descent (*Hnw.t.sn* she was married to *Sšm-nfr* [II], who was ‘Overseer of all the works of the king’, PM, III/1, 146-8).⁸⁶
- Princesses of royal blood who were married to a non-royal person (examples are *Mr-jt.s* [II] (PM, III/1, 200-1), who was married to *ḫtj-ḥtp* of whom one of the titles was ‘director of the palace’, and *ḤC-mrr-nbtj*, PM, III/1, 340-2 who was married to *Pth-šsps*, a vizier).
- Princesses of non-royal blood who were married to the son of a king (an example is *Htp-nbw*, PM, III/1, 230-2, who was married to *Nb-m-ḫt*, a son of Rakhaef (IV.4).

⁸⁴ Junker, *Giza V*, 65 states that the text next to the tomb owner indicates that he is busy pulling papyrus stems, although the above mentioned translations of the verb can give rise to rattling papyrus as the activity too.

⁸⁵ In the writing of this name the hieroglyphic sign O 10 has been introduced.

⁸⁶ Lemke, *Priesterinnen*, Table 16, page 140 ff..

- There is only one known example of a queen that bore that title: *Mr.s-ḥnḥ* [III], PM, 197-9, who was married to Rakhaef (IV.4).

Later in the Old Kingdom the title prophet of Hathor begins to appear (*Wr-jr.n-Pth*, PM, III/2, 699-700, date V.3-5).⁸⁷

Since the chronology of the way the personality of Hathor has developed over the centuries cannot be determined with certainty, it is difficult to link the various characteristics of this deity to the depictions that have been placed in the chapels of the tombs of the Old Kingdom.

The goddess Hathor is connected with music and in a hymn she is called ‘the mistress of harp-playing’:

*‘You are the Lady of Jubilation, the Mistress of the jb3w-dance,
The Lady of Music, the Mistress of Harp-playing,*

*The Lady of Dancing, the Mistress of Tying on Garlands,
The Lady of Myrrh, and the Mistress of Leaping’*⁸⁸

This hymn has been found in the temple complex of Denderah in which one of the temples is dedicated to Hathor. The temple is of Greco-Roman date, but it has been built on foundations that date back to the time of Khufu (IV.2).⁸⁹ However, this does not prove that by the time of the Old Kingdom Hathor was as a goddess associated with music and the other things mentioned in the hymn.⁹⁰

The most important instrument dedicated to Hathor in her role as the deity connected with joy and music, is the sistrum. According to the database of OEE the only tomb in the Memphite area that shows the sistrum in the decoration of the chapel is the tomb of *Nw-ntr* which can be dated to the early 6th dynasty and thus would be contemporaneous with the tomb of *Mrrw-k3.j* (Figure 90) and earlier than that of *Ppj* at Meir (Figure 91).⁹¹

⁸⁷ In PM, III/1 and III/2 the earliest mention of the title is in the period ‘Neferirkare (V.3) or later’ (PM, III/2, 577, 699-700 and 723).

⁸⁸ From the hymn of the seven Hathors from the 5th dynasty crypt of the temple of Denderah (Mariette, *Dendérah*), Plate 60. The *jb3w* is a dance for the gods (Hannig, *Lexika.4*, 65[1440]); it is also a dance that is performed in the *w3b.t* (place of mummification). The title ‘Mistress of Leaping’ refers to the ksks dance (Hannig, *Wörterbuch Ä-D*, 889).

⁸⁹ Aufrère, *L’Égypte restituée I*, 229.

⁹⁰ There are scholars who state that in the New Kingdom and later the goddess was also connected with ‘drunkenness’.

⁹¹ Junker, *Giza X*, Figure 46 shows a dancing party where the sistrum is used (*Nw-ntr*; PM, III/1, 217; date dynasty VI; Harpur, *DETOK*, 267[120], date: dynasty VI). The data base OEE dates this tomb to VI.2-4.



Figure 104. The ivory table from the reign of Djer (I.3)(Petrie, *Royal tombs II*, Plate V.1).

This might lead to the conclusion that at least during the later years of the Old Kingdom Hathor was indeed connected to music.⁹² In this way the wife sitting and playing the harp could be considered to be linked to Hathor or even to be a personification of her.

Apart from this connection with joy, dance, music etc., Hathor was also connected from early on with the sky as a (celestial) cow goddess and therefore she was linked to the daily rebirth of the sun as a life giving deity and thus connected with resurrection.⁹³ This connection is also visible in the bed scene

⁹² Ziegler, *AEP*, Figure 182 (page 358) shows an alabaster sistrum dedicated to Teti (VI.1).

⁹³ K. Sethe explains the name *Hwt-Hr* as 'My house is above', 'That which is above' or 'My house is the sky' which would account for the connection between Hathor in her celestial cow form and the sky goddess Nut (Murray, *Mastabas II*, 8). Bárta, *Journey*, 150 states that in the time of the Old Kingdom wild cows (*Bos primigenius*) were still living in the marshes of the delta and in the chapel of *Mrrw-k3.j* in the Teti cemetery the capture of a wild cow has been depicted (Duell,

in the chapel of *N.jb-m-ḥtj* (PM, III/1, 230 – 2); the bed is standing in a roofed-over place and the roof is resting on 9 poles with a Hathor head.⁹⁴ This shows that already by the time of the 4th dynasty the bed scene might have had a connection with rebirth.

As early as the first dynasty there is proof that Hathor was connected with the marshes of the Delta. An ivory tablet dated to the reign of Djer (I.3) bears the text ‘Hathor in the marshes’ (Figure 104);⁹⁵ on this tablet Hathor is depicted as the wild cow *Bos primigenius*.

In the chapel of *Mrs-ḥnh* [III] (PM, III/1, 197-9) the tomb owner is depicted with her mother *Htp-hrs* [II] standing on a small papyrus boat and holding papyrus stems (*Cyperus papyrus*).⁹⁶ This (ritual?) activity is called *sšš wḏḏ*. Several translations have been given to this term of which the two most logical are:⁹⁷

- ‘Rattling the papyrus’ (thus giving the sound of a sistrum, an instrument dedicated to Hathor).
- ‘Tearing out the papyrus’.

Of these the second is the less probable because tearing a papyrus stem out of its plant is not easy, while breaking it is even more difficult.⁹⁸ In some tombs the caption of the scene itself or boating scenes which are closely connected to this probably ritual activity contain the name of Hathor.⁹⁹

This activity is also mentioned in the Pyramid Texts:

I have inundated the land which came forth from the lake.
I have torn out the papyrus-plant.
I have satisfied the Two Lands,
I have united the Two Lands,

Mereruka, Vol. I, Plate 20).

⁹⁴ Hassan, *Giza IV*, Figure 81.

⁹⁵ Lemke, *Priesterinnen*, 13 gives the translation ‘Hathor in the marshes of king Djers city Dep’, a translation originally given by Petrie; this statement is challenged by several scholars (EEF discussion of 15 and 16.06.2017)

⁹⁶ Dunham, *Gmast I*, 10 and Figure 4. Next to this scene is the caption ‘She pulls papyrus for Hathor in the marshlands with her mother. They see every good thing which is in the marsh’.

⁹⁷ LÄ, IV, 671 – 2, s.v. ‘Papyrusraufen, Papyruszepter’.

⁹⁸ Woods, *Papyrus rattling*, 315 – 6.

⁹⁹ Bárta, *Abusir V*, 84 – 5 (captions of the boating scenes in the tomb of Fetekty (Abusir), give ‘coming upstream after pulling (rattling) papyrus for perfect Hathor.....’ and ‘coming downstream to pull (rattle) papyrus for the perfect Hathor.....’). According to the method developed by the author the tomb of *Ftkj* can be dated to V.L (Roeten, *Economic decline*, X.1 (page 141). LÄ, IV, 667 – 70, s.v. ‘Papyrus, -herstellung’.

*I have joined my mother the Great Wild Cow.*¹⁰⁰

This utterance further confirms that Hathor was a celestial cow goddess. The connection with the sky is also evident in utterance 485 of the Pyramid Texts:

*[The doors of the sky] are opened [for you],
The doors of the firmament are thrown open for you...
The Mansion of Horus which is in the sky.*¹⁰¹

This rattling of the papyrus for Hathor, which resembles the sound of the sistrum, can be related to the idea that the marsh lands of the delta are a rendering of the mount that rose out of the waters of Nun and that must have been covered with reed and papyrus,¹⁰² thus again connecting Hathor with the

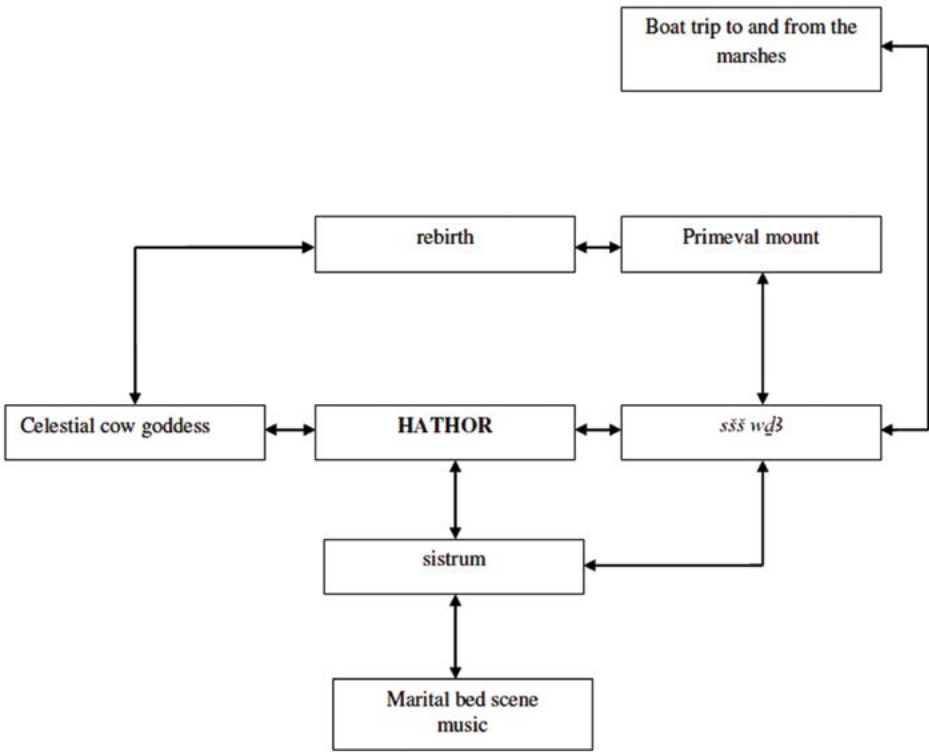


Figure 105. The interaction of the various characteristics of the goddess Hathor.

¹⁰⁰ PT, § 388.

¹⁰¹ PT, § 1025.

¹⁰² The papyrus was considered to be the first plant that grew on the primeval mount.

idea of rebirth.¹⁰³ Doubtless the cows that were pastured in the delta made the papyrus stems rattle, thus making a connection between Hathor, the rattling of papyrus, the sistrum and a cow.

The ritual is performed by males and females, but a male is depicted in a striding posture with a papyrus stem over his head (possibly to use it after the ritual as a spear to catch fish) while a female is standing in the boat and just holding the papyrus stem. Taking into account the strength necessary to tear out a papyrus stem this might be the way to show the difference in physical strength between a man and a woman. The first examples of both versions date from the transition from the 4th to the 5th dynasty.¹⁰⁴ The fact that the female version does not show a papyrus stem being thrown away indicates that rattling the papyrus, thus imitating the sound of a sistrum, was the most important part of the ritual.

It is evident that the connection between the goddess Hathor and rebirth are manifold and in Figure 105 the various interactions are shown schematically.

¹⁰³ Bárta, *Abusir V*, 85.

¹⁰⁴ For the male version see Simpson, *Gmast 4*, Figure 30; for the female version see Dunham, *Gmast 1*, Figure 4. A female version exercised by a male person can be found in the tomb of the dwarf *Snb* (PM, III/1, 101-3; Junker, *Giza V*, Figure 15), but also in the mastaba of *Tjj* (PM, III/2, 468-78, Steindorf, *Ti*, Plate 58).

Chapter Nine

The sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased

I. Introduction

In an earlier publication of the author it was proposed that during the period V.E/L – V.L/E the mode of sustenance of the deceased was gradually changing from the actual bringing of offerings to a more enhanced form of magical sustenance (Figure 108).¹ In that study, the following explanation for that change was suggested:

1. Everything that had to do with the tomb, the chapel and the cult in it was meant to last forever, so that not only would the supply of food and drink for the deceased, who was supposed to be ‘living’ in the tomb, be guaranteed, but that also the deceased would remain alive in the ‘social’ memory of the living. However, even in the Old Kingdom it was plainly visible that the older tombs and the cults pertaining to them were completely neglected.²
2. A growing economic decline led to increasing financial difficulty in maintaining such a cult.³

¹ Roeten, *Decoration*, Figure X.6 (page 209). This development is discussed in ibidem, chapter X, section II (202-11).

² This must have been evident in the cemetery of Saqqara, the oldest necropolis of Memphis, where the tombs of the 1st dynasty were standing on the eastern escarpment overlooking the city, and even from there the neglect of the tombs must have been visible.

³ This was due to a slow development which increasingly started to interfere with daily life. This development was caused by the gradual ending of the Neolithic sub-pluvial at about 3300 BCE, with a diminishing annual rainfall, followed by a drop in the mean flood height of the river and the collapse of the desert ecosystem. Roeten, *Economic decline*.

II. The change in mode of sustenance

In order to determine this change the themes that were placed on the western wall of the chapel are divided into themes connected to the actual bringing of offerings and themes that were typically connected to the magical form of supplying sustenance (Figures 106 and 107).

The transition of the bread loaves into the reed plumes can be interpreted in a similar context, with the bread loaves representing the actual bringing of offerings, and the row of reed plumes on the offering table being interpreted as the image of the Field of Offerings. One implication of the introduction of the Field of Offerings is the realisation that the deceased no longer lived in the tomb.

In the original discussion of the chronological development of the mode of sustenance the offerings depicted on the offering table were not included.⁴

(sub)theme	IV		V.E		V.M		V.L		VI	
	early	late	early	late	early	late	early	late	early	late
Offering list										
Piles of offerings (ww) ²										
Butchery scene (ww)										
Table scene (ww)										
Offering formula (fd)										
Table scene (offerings)										
Tomb owner standing (ww) ³										
Scribes (ww)										
Total criteria: 8	1	1	1	2	4	6	8	8	8	8

Figure 106. The chronological development of the magical food supply (after Roeten, *Decoration*, Figure X.4 (page 208)) (modified for the offering table).

(sub)theme	IV		V.E		V.M		V.L		VI	
	early	late	early	late	early	late	early	late	early	late
Personified estates (ww)										
Scribes (ww)										
Butchery scene (ww)										
Family standing or sitting (fd)										
Offering bearers (fd)										
Priests (fd)										
Offering utensils (fd)										
Table scene (offerings)										
Offering list (fd)										
Total criteria: 10	9	9	9	9	7	5	1	1	0	0

Figure 107. The chronological development of the actual food supply (after Roeten, *Decoration*, Figure X.5 (page 208)) (modified for the offering table).

⁴ Roeten, *Decoration*, Figures X.4 and X.5 (page 208).

It is possible to introduce the table scene as one of the scenes involved in the change in the mode of sustenance into these calculations, regardless of whether this scene is placed on the panel of the false door, on the remaining part of the western wall, or on the southern wall of the chapel or the entrance thicknesses (Figures 106 and 107).⁵ Assuming that in the transition from V.M to V.L the Osiris cult passed from a latent stage to a publicly accepted cult, the deceased was no longer supposed to live in the tomb, but in another realm. This means that it was no longer of the utmost importance to have actual offerings brought to the chapel instead, the *k3* of the deceased now needed magically supplied sustenance in the place where he/she stayed.

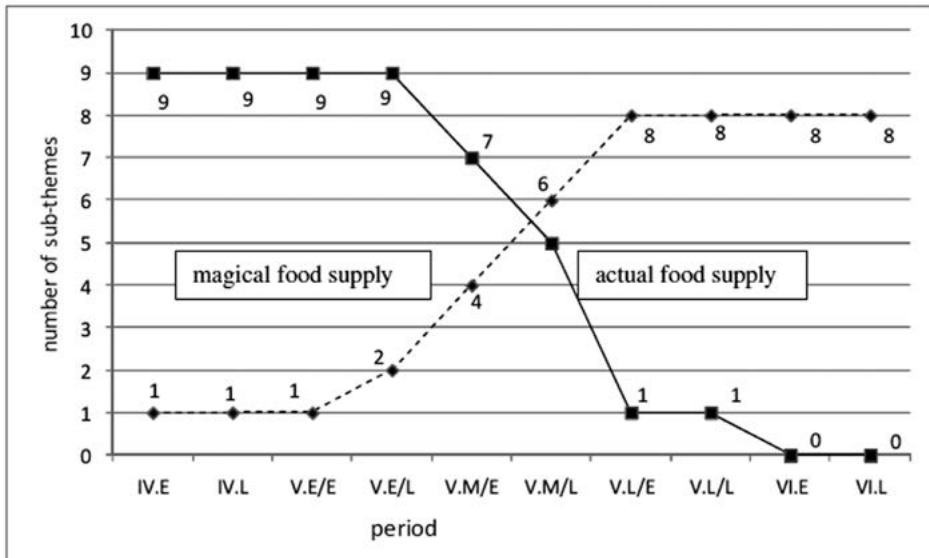


Figure 108. Curves of the chronological development of the actual and magical supply of sustenance on the western wall of the chapel (after Roeten, *Decoration*, 209 (Figure X.6), modified for the above mentioned change in the function of the offerings on the table.⁶

⁵ From the period V.E/L on the table scene is no longer placed on the entrance thicknesses (Roeten, *Decoration*, Table XII.1.Ann. (page 384). In this table the last tomb to have the table scene depicted on the entrance thicknesses is that of *Tntj* (PM, III/1, 141-2; L.D. II, 31 c/d; period V.E/M). The loaves reach between the elbow and the shoulder (criterion 17). This disappearance would imply that the table scene on the entrance thicknesses had no magical significance (In Roeten, *Decoration function*, the author calls the offering table scene on the entrance thicknesses 'purpose signalling').

⁶ Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 48 states that the names of Sahure (V.2) and Neferirkare (V.3) are only exceptionally mentioned; if these kings are not included, the start of the employment of criterion 19 changes to V.M/L and coincides with the start of the employment of the equivalent theme according to Swinton.

The transition tables which take into account this chronological development including the offerings on the table are given in Figures 108 and 109. These values are gathered in diagram X.6 of Roeten, *Decoration* (Figure 109), giving a corrected curve in Figure 108.

In Figure 108 the development of the offerings on the table has been included, and although the overall form of the two curves does not change markedly in comparison with the chronological development given in Figure 109 (the development without the change of the object on the offering table incorporated) the form of the curves becomes more pronounced, leading to the conclusion that the introduction of the Osirian cult is one of the influences behind the change in the mode of sustenance. In this figure the curves show that during the period V.E/L – V.L/E the two modes of supply change, thus supporting the period given in an earlier publication.

III. Preliminary discussion

In Figure 108 it is evident that the magical food supply had already started to increase early in the 5th dynasty (early V.E), but that the decrease in the actual food supply started somewhat later (late V.E).

By incorporating the development of the objects on the offering table, the form of the curve of Figure 108 becomes, as already observed, not only more pronounced but also more fluent.

The whole change from mainly actual to in the end only magical supply takes place in the period V.E/E – V.L/E.

Presuming a connection with the introduction of the Osiris cult and the appearance of reed plumes on the offering table, this leads to the conclusion that the introduction of the Osirian cult influenced the change in mode of sustenance.

In Figure 108 the curves show that during the period V.E/L – V.L/E a complete change of the mode of supply takes place, thus supporting the dating given in an earlier publication. That it started in period V.E indicates that possibly the first ideas about the Osiris cult had already developed by then, thus making the actual bringing of offerings ever less essential, because increasingly the deceased had to find his sustenance in the Field of Rushes.⁷

⁷ PT, § 873-4; see intra chapter VII, Introduction.

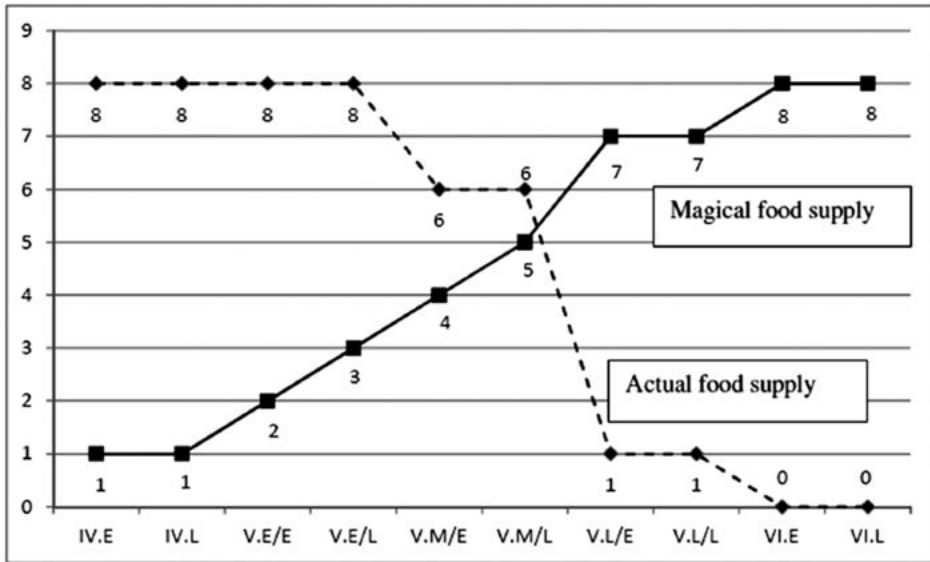


Figure 109. Curves of the chronological development of the actual and magical supply of sustenance on the western wall of the chapel (after Roeten, *Decoration*, 209 (Figure X.6; page 209), without modification for the above mentioned change in the function of the offerings on the table.

The chronological development of the transition from bread loaves to reed plumes (Figures 53, 54 and 54) indicates that the reversal of the form starts in the period V.M. In Figure 108 the increase of the magical mode of supply already starts early in the period V.E., while in the period V.M the magical mode of sustenance becomes more important than the actual bringing of offerings. This might indicate the existence of a connection between the two developments.

The actual food supply starts to decrease in the same period (V.E/L; Figure 108) as the bread loaves on the table grow taller (V.E; Figure 57); this increase of the size of the loaves is part of the tendency to increase not only the number of depictions connected with the supply of food but also the quantity of food in order to take care of the magical food supply.⁸ The change from loaves into reed plumes sets in somewhat later (V.M/E) (Figure 115).

⁸ Roeten, *Decoration*, Diagram IV.10.Ann. (page 400).

Chapter Ten

Discussion and conclusion

I. Discussion

1.1 The loaves of bread on the offering table

Bread has always been a basic commodity, and depictions of it were present from the start of the first dynasty. At first there was not a direct physical contact between the offering table and the loaves, they were just hovering over it. Later, the loaves were symmetrically placed on the table and over the course of time their number increased. Figures 46 and 47 show that this development was present from the first dynasty on, but also that later in the Old Kingdom the increase levels off. In the stelae of the 2nd dynasty (Table III.c) a dichotomy in social status can be perceived in the number of loaves that can be chosen (the stele of *Njt-w^c* and *Njt-nb*; Figure 48 shows six loaves for the taller figure and four for the smaller one) In these stelae, the choice of the number of loaves is not sex-linked, a tendency which becomes apparent in the tombs of the Old Kingdom (Table I: the offering table of *Mrrw-k3.j* carries 26 loaves, that of his wife *W^ctt-ht-hr* 20 loaves and the table of their son *Mrjj-ttj* has 18 loaves).

Three dating systems express the length of the loaves by specifying to which part of the person sitting at the table they reach. The disadvantage of these systems is that they are non-mathematical and approximate and thus basically unreliable; the most serious mistake made here is that the variability of the height of the table is not taken into account (the length of the table stand can vary considerably with respect to the sitting tomb owner, while the table is sometimes not even standing on the same register (Junker, *Giza, II*, Figure 18; Junker, *Giza V*, Figure 40)).

The three systems not only describe the length of the loaves but also a change in their form, a change from short, rather broad loaves with a rim (bread baked in a *bd3* mould), through simple, longer and straight loaves without a rim (bread baked in an *ʕpr.t* mould) to what by some scholars is interpreted as a reed plume. The three systems all agree on the sequence from simple, straight and long loaves to objects on the offering table that might be interpreted as reed plumes, the latter change taking place in the middle period of the 5th dynasty (V.M).

The change in length cannot be the result of the alteration of the *bd3* mould which over the course of the Old Kingdom became longer and narrower, because in that case the rim, which is the product of the baking technique that has to be used with this type of mould, would still be present. In contrast, the *ʕpr.t* mould requires a different baking technique and produced thin loaves without a rim, making it probable that the change in length is caused by the decision to place another type of loaf on the table. This argument is supported by the decreasing tendency of the presence of the rim on the loaves as shown in Figure 65.

For a short period the *ʕpr.t* loaves were depicted without any disturbance on the vertical sides (Figure 61), but during the transition from the 4th to the 5th dynasty an indentation (Figures 62 and 63) starts to appear at the bottom of the loaf.

In Figure 65 it is evident that the rim disappears in the period V.L which is also the period that the indentation presence percentage starts to increase markedly. This can indicate the following:

1. For no apparent reason the *ʕpr.t* baked loaf is depicted standing on a slightly truncated outer side (Figures 68-D).
2. The indentation of the loaf is a first indication of the introduction of the reed plume, which in its turn would be connected to the cult of Osiris.

A third explanation might be that it is the depiction of a *bd3* baked loaf with an exaggerated indentation under the rim. Although in Figure 67 it is evident that such a situation might be possible because both the rim and the indentation have a period of co-existence, this argument is not plausible because during the interim period *ʕpr.t* baked loaves are standing on the offering table without any markings on their vertical sides.

If the first argument is combined with the second, it might mean that the loaf had been shown in this way in an effort to depict a reed bush. If indeed the introduction of the indentation is an attempt to change the objects on the table

from loaves into reed plumes, this does not directly point to a latently present Osiris cult in statu nascendi, but to a change in ideas about the after-life. It is possible but less probable that this change consisted of an after-life that could be led in a (watery) place that was located outside the tomb, and that only at a later stage Osiris and a realm of the dead was introduced, which in that case could have been in the period that the name Osiris appears to be mentioned for the first time (reign of Niuserre (V.6)).

The change in length of the loaves can also be measured and expressed as a percentage of the length of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table, because the dimensions of the depiction of the sitting human being is the touchstone for the length of all other objects. During the 4th dynasty a small increase in length takes place, but from the transition from the 4th to the 5th dynasty on, the length of the loaves increases markedly, levelling off over the course of the 6th dynasty. This lengthening of the loaves can be explained by the observation that from the transition from the 4th to the 5th dynasty onwards the magical food supply for the sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased started to gain importance too (Figure 109). This development led to an increase in the length of the loaves on the table, thus giving a magically richer food supply for the *k3*.

However, this development was later overtaken in the 5th dynasty by the change of the loaves into what might be reed plumes, a change visible in the introduction of an indentation in the 'foot' of the loaf (Figure 62). The new development caused a levelling off in the length of the loaves which set in from the start of the 6th dynasty on, the period in which the change in the mode of sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased came to an end (Figure 108).

In Figure 57 it can be seen that in the period VI.E the maximum length of the loaves is extreme and that directly after this period the maximum length falls back. This is due to the offering table scenes in the multi-chambered mastabas in the cemetery around the pyramid of Teti (VI.1). The tendency of these tomb owners to do everything on a grander scale has already been noticed in the surface of their mastabas which were completely outside the curve representing the chronological development of the tomb surface.¹ If these 'anomalous' tombs are taken out of the catalogue, the curve of the maximum value of the length for that period becomes less high, while the mid-point curve levels off to a steady-state (Figure 59).

¹ Roeten, *Economic decline*, Figure 104 (page 93).

The objects standing on the offering table that have been interpreted as reed plumes, are to a certain extent problematic, because in Figures 68-E and 68-F both are called reed plumes but only the form in Figure 68-F is a view of a reed plume that corresponds to reality. During the Old Kingdom the form in Figure 68-E was used often, but even within one tomb the use of one form did not exclude use of the other.² This means that both forms were considered to be identical and are thus purely symbolic, and both forms had the same intrinsic meaning.

The observation that the introduction of the indentation starts during the transition from the 4th to the 5th dynasty (Figure 65) can, as already has been said, be interpreted as a first step in the direction of reed plumes, but Osiris and his realm of the dead need not directly responsible, it can be seen as a move towards more mobility and more space for the *k3* of the deceased. The deceased wanted to meet his *k3* and walk on the beautiful roads of the west. Later this idea was developed further and the cult of Osiris and the Field of Rushes emerged.

1.2. *The after-life*

The magazines in the substructures of the royal and non-royal tombs of dynasties I and II, magazines that were meant for food and drink for the deceased, clearly show that the deceased ‘lived’ in the tomb, but from the start of the 3rd dynasty a dichotomy in after-life expectation developed between the king and private persons. The king went to the gods and became one among them while all other persons remained in their tomb. This led to the construction of royal tombs (pyramids) to stress the abysmal difference between the king and his subjects. This development has two consequences:

- The private persons had their tombs constructed closer to the royal tomb and the lay-out of the cemeteries became more ordered. This development did not last long which suggests that the idea of being near the god (= the king) slowly trailed off. By early in the 6th dynasty little was left of the ordered cemetery lay-out that had started during the reign of Snefru (IV.1).
- The private persons sought to obtain a form of after-life that was less confined to the tomb. The ambition was not to follow the king and go to the gods too; the desire was rather to be buried in the western cemetery, to walk on the beautiful ways of the west, and to become an *3h*.³

² Kanawati, *S'ankhuptah*, For Figure 68-E (the wrong reed plume form): Plates 27 and 67; for Figure 68-F (the right reed plume form): Plates 30 and 68.

³ LÄ, I, 49-52, s.v. ‘Ach’, there 49. Hays, *Democratization*, 123.

*ḥtp dj nswt ḥtp (dj) Jnpw nb t3 ḏsr ḥntj šh-nṯr krs.t(w).f m smjt jmntt j3w
nfr wrt
ḥp.f ḥr w3wt nfrt ḥppt jm3ḥw jm ḥr nṯr-ʿ3*

An offering which the King gives and Anubis, Lord of the Necropolis, who is before the divine booth: May he be buried in the Western cemetery in great good old age:
May he walk on the beautiful roads on which a revered one walks before the Great God.⁴

The preserved body of the deceased was buried in his tomb, nothing had changed about that, but now the *k3* of the deceased was no longer supposed to stay in the tomb, but to make the voyage to the west. It could be this desire to have an after-life that was less confined to the tomb that in the end provoked

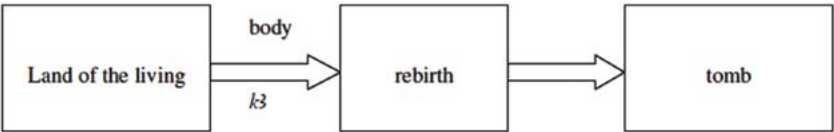


Figure 110. The situation of the *k3* and the body of a non-royal person before the introduction of the Osiris cult.

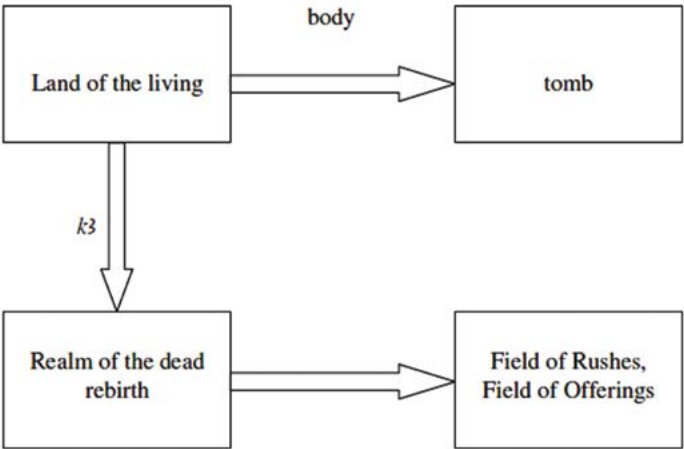


Figure 111. The possible change in after-life ideas after the introduction of the Osiris cult.

⁴ Weeks, *Gmast* 5, 24-5; tomb G 6010 of *Nfr-b3w-Pth* (PM, III/1, 169 – 70).

a growth in the importance of the Osiris cult, because in this way the *k3* of the deceased could leave the tomb and go to the realm of the dead. The focus of this cult was the rebirth of the God, which meant that the rebirth idea, which had always existed, was now pushed to the forefront. This in turn made it more important to place themes connected with the rebirth idea on the walls of the chapel.

In Figure 110 a diagram shows the situation of the deceased until the end of the 5th dynasty. In this diagram rebirth has been integrated as a necessary stage in order to enable the deceased to live on in the after-life, although confined to the tomb.

Assmann's description of the after-life is shown in Figure 111. He places a realm of the dead as the first step, a place where the dead are dead, but in that realm rebirth is possible, allowing the deceased to go to the Field of Rushes and to lead an eternal life.⁵ Between these two phases a transition phase can be inserted; in which the *k3* of the deceased leaves the tomb and goes to the 'beautiful west' to be reborn and to walk on the beautiful roads there. During the emergence of the Osiris cult the 'beautiful west' became the realm of the dead, being reborn still took place there, but after that the deceased went to the Field of Rushes. Scholars are vague about the religious content of the Osiris cult while it was in development. When the mythology of the cult was fully developed, it described the weighing of the heart of the deceased in front of Osiris and a council of spirits, in this way giving him/her the possibility of rebirth.

However, it is not clear whether this council was already part of the realm of the dead when the mythology was still in development.

In the mastaba van *tjj* (PM, III/2, 468-78; date: V.L) a text mentions ' *r sht nfrt* ' 'to the beautiful field' while on the false door in the chapel the name of Osiris is given in the offering formula;⁶ in the mastaba of *Ittj* (PM, III/2, 598; date: VI ⁷) the field is mentioned with its name: *r sht-htp* 'to the Field of Offerings'.⁸

⁵ Assmann, *Resurrection*, 125.

⁶ LD, II, 101a.

⁷ The number of loaves on the offering table on the panel of the false door is 14. In Figure 47 this would lead to a date in period VI.L.

⁸ Murray, *Mastabas I*, Plate XVIII. The name of Osiris is not mentioned.

1.3. Rebirth⁹

The contents of some of the scenes placed on the walls of the chapel might be interpreted as having a connection with rebirth, although the line of interpretation leading to such a conclusion remains 'etic'.

1.3.1. The bed-scene

The curve in Figure 105 suggests that the bed making scene was apparently introduced at the end of the 4th dynasty. If, as some scholars claim, the Osiris cult was quite suddenly introduced in the middle period of the 5th dynasty,¹⁰ then a direct connection between the religious ideas pertaining to the Osiris cult and the bed scene would not be possible at the end of the 4th dynasty.

If, however the cult of Osiris was already latently present and in development during the transition from the 4th to the 5th dynasty, then a connection would be possible but not necessarily present. However, this connection seems to be corroborated by the marked increase in employment of the bed-making scene that started late in the 4th dynasty (Figure 94).

This increase could mean that from that period on the bed-making scene got implicated in the religious ideas of this emerging cult. A possible connection between the bed and death seems to be visible in the depiction of a sailing ship with a human form on a bed in the cabin.¹¹ Since corpses have not (yet?) been found to be depicted during the Old Kingdom, it is more likely that the human form is the tomb owner alive and resting on the bed during one of his many travels to his estates or to carry out his function(s).¹²

It is possible, although not likely, that the bed that the servants prepared would be used as a bier for the mummy of the deceased; it would certainly not have been used for the mummification itself.¹³ H. Altenmüller's proposal that in the

⁹ Assmann, *Resurrection*, 124 states that there is a difference between the terms 'resurrection' and 'rebirth'. He proposes the existence of two after-life worlds next to the world of the living: 1. The world of the dead and 2. A world where the deceased could live an eternal life that resembled life in the world of the living, this world was called 'The Field of Rushes'. The deceased could be resurrected or reborn from the world of the dead to the Field of Rushes, but resurrection to the world of the living was not possible. Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 291 states that once in the Field of Rushes the deceased could visit the world of the living, but only during the daytime.

¹⁰ Mathieu, *Osiris*.

¹¹ Altenmüller, *Mehu*, Plate 19a.

¹² Walsem, van, *Sense*, 300.

¹³ Altenmüller, *Aufstehungsritual*, 3. Walsem, van, *Sense*, 300 translates the bed and the furniture under and around the bed as the showing of material wealth.

marital bed scene the couple sitting on the bed could be interpreted as Osiris and Isis is possible in view of the date of the two tombs in which this scene has been found.¹⁴ However, this hypothesis raises some questions:

- In the marital bed-scene the tomb owner would be the deceased, while the role of the wife of the tomb owner would be that of the headrest. There is indeed a strong connection between a deceased person and a headrest, but the problem here is that in all the bed-making scenes the headrest is present, but not in the two preserved marital bed-scenes, although in this proposal the depiction of the wife would be the personification of the headrest.
- In the article the proposal is exclusively from a male point of view, but how would the situation be if the deceased is a woman? Would/could the roles be inverted?

Surely the last argument makes the idea less likely.

The consideration that the preservation of the body, which was done on a bed-like piece of furniture, was necessary in order to be able to be reborn in the nether world implies that there existed a connection between bed-like pieces of furniture and rebirth.¹⁵

The OEE database contains more than 400 datable tombs of which the decoration can be interpreted, it shows that, in spite of the possible rebirth and the rebirth background of the bed-making scene, it was not considered of such importance that it should be a mandatory part of the total decoration (26 tombs with the scene in a total of more than 400 tombs make up for less than 6%).

The headrest could be included in the inventory offering list, from the early 3rd dynasty on, and this indicates that it was considered to be an important piece of funerary equipment.¹⁶ The inclusion was probably due to the fact that the deceased, who was believed to live in the tomb, needed it in order to be comfortable in his/her after-life; although there are also texts stating that the deceased needed the headrest in order not to lose his/her head, making the after-life impossible. Yet, it is not often that a headrest is found in the coffin, probably because it was easier to place a *wsr* amulet under the head. The deceased needed a comfortable sleep because this state was seen as an overlap between the world of the living and the dead.

¹⁴ Altenmüller, *Aufstehungsritual*, 5.

¹⁵ Jones, *Prehistoric mummification*. It is possible that the dead were being mummified as early as the 5th millennium BCE.

¹⁶ LÄ, III, 686-93, s.v. 'Kopfstütze', there 686.

In the marital bed scenes of Figures 90 and 91 neither the headrest nor water lily flowers are present, which corroborates the idea that the theme here is marital affection that has been put forward in this study, because the absence of the headrest indicates that there is no intention of sleeping. Which would lead to the conclusion that these scenes have no obvious connection with rebirth.

This inference is supported by the fact that in both scenes the tomb owner has a stick and a fly whisk in his hands, and that certainly the stick is an instrument that has no unambiguous connection with the idea of marital affection.¹⁷

However, the arguments concerning music, sexuality and the goddess Hathor as put forward in appendix VIII.1, would lead to the conclusion that the marital affection in the scene has the underlying idea of being closely connected with the rebirth of the tomb owner through the intervention of the woman. This leads directly to the question '.....and what if the tomb owner is a woman?'. The fact that no female counterpart of this scene is known would corroborate the conclusion that the scene is one of marital affection and nothing more than that. Yet, the lack of a female counterpart of the scene may be due simply to the volatility of time, human intervention and excavation which have left us with only two examples of this scene, leaving interpretation open.

The use of the bed-making scene in the decoration of the chapel increases markedly during the transition of the 4th to the 5th dynasty (Figure 8.8), a development which can be interpreted as a change in ideas about the after-life. Because death ended life on earth, the necessity of rebirth had always existed in order to be able to continue living on the other side. This rebirth was dependent on the burial rituals that were performed, and the bed must be interpreted as a funerary symbol. The introduction of the Osiris cult later in the 5th dynasty apparently made rebirth more important and provoked the introduction of themes that could be connected with rebirth:

- The marital bed scene which was introduced in the Memphite area in period VI.1.
- The papyrus rattling aspect of the marsh-scenes (the hunting itself was just sportive and had no connection with rebirth).
- The smelling of the flower of the water lily, which had been a typically female activity, was taken up in the decoration of the chapels of male deceased in the period V.L, thus indicating that the background of the activity had been changed (section I.3.2.).

¹⁷ It must be realized that the interpretation of the instrument as a stick is purely etc.

	IV.E	IV.L	V.E	V.M	V.L	VI.E	VII.L
Female							
Male							

Figure 112. The chronology of smelling the flower of the water lily for male and female tomb owners.

1.3.2. Smelling the flower of the water lily

In table VIII a marked difference can be observed between the chronologies of the smelling of the water lily flower by male and female tomb owners (Figure 112).

This means that in the period that the Osiris cult increased in importance the intrinsic meaning of the smelling of the flower of the water lily changed in such a way that for the male tomb owner, if he chose for theme, it had to be depicted as an action that earlier had been considered to be typically feminine.

However, Figure 112 is not sufficiently finely divided to offer the possibility of coming to a valid conclusion. Table VIII is complete enough to calculate the

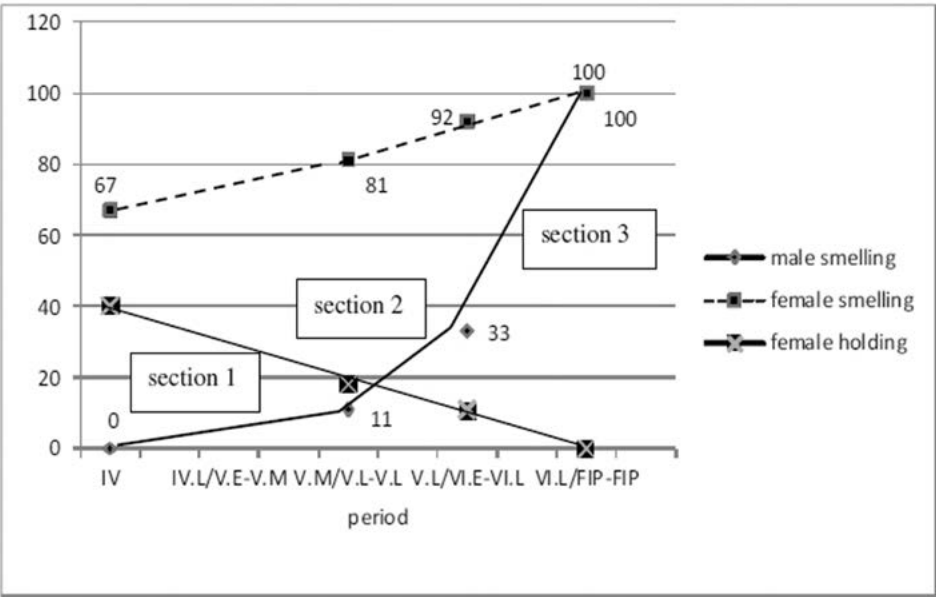


Figure 113. The percentage of smelling/holding in the total of gestures with the water lily flower.

chronological development of the male and female 'smelling'. Due to the small population of period V.E an adjustment has to be made by taking the period V.E and V.M together. The usual problem with this type of tables is how to deal with those tombs that have been dated to the transitional period of two dynasties. In Table VIII the following periods have been used:

IV
IV.L/V.E – V.M
V.M/V.L – V.L
V.L/VI.E – VI.L
VI.L/FIP-FIP

In these periods the number of tombs with a gesture with the flower of the water lily is determined and the percentage of tombs with male/female 'smelling' and female 'holding' is calculated, for male and for female tomb owners (see Figure 113).

It is evident that, already from the 4th dynasty on, smelling the flower became more common for male tomb owners.

An explanation could be that in this period a rebirth connotation became linked to the blue water lily flower, a link that was not difficult to make in view of the night/day behaviour of the whole plant. This explanation can be further extended by stating that the rebirth idea was a direct link between the rising cult of the god Osiris and the rebirth idea in a watery place clearly resembling with the marshes of the Delta. It is evident that a strong connection exists between the chronology of the male gestures in Figure 98 and that of the curve of the male smelling in Figure 113 (see Figure 114). In Figure 114 the presentation section already has an underlying idea of the offering of a symbol of rebirth to the tomb owner, and might be interpreted as the surfacing of ideas about

period	Gesture (Figure 8.12)	Section (Figure 10.3b)
IV.L – V.M/L	holding	section 1
V.M – VI.E	presentation	section 2
V.L - FIP	smelling	section 3

Figure 114. The connection between the male gestures with the flower of the water lily and the percentage smelling in their gesture in Figure 113.

the cult of Osiris that might already have been latently present in section 1. Another conclusion is that, due to the fact that except in one case, the flower is not offered to the female tomb owner, certainly in the first half of the Old Kingdom a dichotomy existed between male and female rebirth. It is also clear that these ideas converged in two second half of the Old Kingdom.

1.4. Marsh scenes

There are two different attitudes that the male can have during the ritual of 'pulling the papyrus':

- The attitude with one or two pulled out papyrus stems in a raised hand.¹⁸
- The attitude where the male holds a papyrus stem with each hand, but without pulling them off the root, or perhaps in the act of doing that.

A connection between the 'rattling (pulling) of papyrus' and the fishing/fowling scene can be proposed. The total sequence can be interpreted as a day off for the family, a day that started with a boat faring downstream to the delta, where the tomb owner, members of his family and servants embark in small papyrus skiffs.

The ritual of rattling the papyrus was performed for Hathor, but the hunting party that followed the ritual had no religious implications (Chapter VIII, section VI.1).

The rattling scene does not exclude women and, due to the connection between rattling and Hathor, can be regarded as a scene with a rebirth connotation; however, a rebirth background cannot be given to the scenes showing the hunting activities because also these exclude women and therefore again give rise to the question...¹⁹

Although the increasing use of the scene depicting hunting in the marshes coincides with the rise of the Osiris cult, it has been concluded that the scene had no direct connection with the rebirth of the deceased. Only the fact that the hunting activities were preceded by a ritual honouring of Hathor, a goddess connected with rebirth, would indirectly give them a not too obvious link with it. It can be observed that in the Memphite area the percentage of tombs with

¹⁸ In the chapel of *J3sn* (PM, III/1, 82) the tomb owner is depicted on the northern wall holding a papyrus stem and has two (?) pulled out papyrus stems in his raised hand. The text to the right of this scene states 'pulling (rattling) papyrus for Hathor in the marshlands ...' (Simpson, *Gmast* 4, Figure 30), apparently with the intention to spear fish after the ritual.

¹⁹ Swinton, *Dating tombs OK*, 77.

scenes showing hunting activities decreases from the start of the 6th dynasty on, while in the provinces a growing percentage of tombs had the scene (Figure 101). This means that although the interest in this scene increased in the provinces, compared to the Memphite area the scene was less often placed on the walls because the marshes were too far away to be an item of interest, and solely those who had contact with the residence in Memphis could be familiar with the marshes and the activities connected with them.

The rebirth content of the scene of the rattling of papyrus was apparently inessential, and undoubtedly other scenes were used for the same purpose. The decrease can be explained by the growing importance of the Osiris cult. The god of this cult had his own rebirth connotations, and the rebirth linkage of Hathor in connection with the marshes of the Delta became less important; the result was a marked decrease of the papyrus rattling scene.

The initial increase in popularity of the marsh-scenes might have been provoked by the ideas regarding Osiris and an after-life in the Field of Rushes, but another explanation given by Mathieu is that the Osiris cult was promoted by the Residence in order to strengthen the political power of the king.²⁰ In that case the cult has not been 'invented' by the Residence, because it was already in development from the early days of the 5th dynasty. However, the increasing power of the provinces at the cost of that of the residence would have meant that the usefulness of Osiris as a 'political power-tool' diminished and his indirect connection with the marshes became less important. In the provinces the marsh-scenes were not often used in the chapels and although Osiris remained important, the marsh aspect of the cult never became a focal point.

The necessity of rebirth had always been present, evident from the existence of the 'opening of the mouth ritual' which enabled the deceased to breath, to take food and to move again.²¹ This means that the ritual is closely related to birth and rebirth. It probably existed already in archaic times in the form of a ritual to give 'life' to a statue. In the terminal predynastic and protodynastic period this ritual became part of the funerary ritual.²² This is corroborated by the fact

²⁰ Mathieu, *Osiris*.

²¹ Based on damage to the frontal teeth, in the dental literature an 'opening of the mouth procedure' is mentioned which apparently consisted of the actual opening of the mouth of the deceased during the embalming procedure (Seiler, *Opening of the mouth*). It is probable that this took place after the body had been dehydrated which led to a hardening of the tissues, because the inside of the mouth had to be treated too, it had to be opened ((Seiler, *Opening of the mouth*, 1213-4).

²² Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 409; Roth, *Rebirth*, 114. Brooklyn Museum (New York), inv. no. 35.1445 from the Nagada III period; from early in the 4th dynasty: MFA, Boston, inv. no. 11765. Otto, *Mundöffnung*, 2. Roth, *Opening mouth*, 78 claims that *psš-kf* knives were already present in graves

that the ritual is mentioned in the PT, and clearly refers to birth (here meaning rebirth) and gathering strength to take food.²³

O, King, I fasten for you your jaws which were divided – psš-kf²⁴
O, Osiris the King, I split open your mouth.....²⁵

Take the tip of Horus' own breast; take what is for your mouth...
Take the breast of your sister Isis the milk-provider.....²⁶

The observation that these types of scenes were not placed in every chapel is due to the existence of other themes that were also connected to the idea of rebirth, with the final choice in the hands of the tomb owner.²⁷

1.5. The cult of Osiris and the Field of Rushes

The first indications that the form of the loaves on the offering table was changing into a reed plume dates to the middle of period V.M, which corresponds to the early years of the reign of Niuserre (V.6), the loaves on various tables can differ between the true reed form and the indented loaf form. Because the objects on the table are brown, which is the colour of loaves and of faded reed plumes, this period must be considered as a transitional period.

The first reliable mention of Osiris is in the tomb of *Pth-šps* (PM, III/2, 464, no. 48; temp. Userkaf (V.1) – Niuserre (V.6); BM EA 682), a tomb in all probability constructed during the early years of the reign of Niuserre (V.6).

If these two observations are combined, it is clear that a link exists between the emergence of the cult of Osiris and the gradual introduction of the reed plumes on the offering table which is visible in the chronological development of the indentation in the loaves (Figure 66) which started in the period V.E. This can be interpreted as a decreasing need for the supply of actual offerings for the

in the Nagada II period and that its relation with rebirth cannot be later than that period.

²³ PT, § 11 starts the ritual by mentioning the various steps and implements. The opening of the mouth is a ritual gesture that was done when the mummy of the deceased had been transported to the tomb.

²⁴ An instrument that is not used to actually open the mouth, but is thought to have served to cut the umbilical cord after birth, it would in this way be connected with rebirth. It is for that reason that this instrument played a role in the rebirth rituals during the funeral. Harer, *Peseshkef* (www.ncbi.nlm.gov/pubmed/8190422) calls it the first medical instrument for a special purpose. See Kobusiewicz, *Flint tools*, Figure 37 (page 71).

²⁵ PT, § 30.

²⁶ PT, § 32.

²⁷ Walsem, van, *Iconography*, 51.

sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased because he/she could now find his/her food in the Field of Offerings.²⁸

Of the three most important marsh flowers, namely the papyrus, the water-lily and the reeds, the first two were connected with rebirth, and it was the last that became important only as the symbolisation of the Field of Rushes that was linked to the Osirian cult, and that was the place where afterlife was 'lived'.

II. Conclusions

In the Old Kingdom a number of chronological developments take place that might be connected to the emergence of the Osiris cult, and if combined, give an idea as to whether the Osiris cult was an ad hoc emergence or a cult that slowly developed into a religious conviction with a mature mythology.

1. The bed-making scene appears in the period of the transition of the 4th to the 5th dynasty.
2. The indentation of the loaves on the offering table starts during the transition of the 4th to the 5th dynasty (Figure 66).
3. The rim of the loaves disappears in the period V.M – V.L (Figure 65).
4. The percentage of marsh-scenes, although they were already present in the 4th dynasty, starts to increase in period V.M (Figure 100). These scenes start to lose their importance at the start of the 6th dynasty; the decreasing importance of the hunting scenes is provoked by the growing power of the provinces, which are too far away from the marshes. The emergence of the Osiris cult is responsible for the decrease of the papyrus rattling scene because Hathor became less important for rebirth.
5. The mode of sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased through the actual bringing of offerings starts to decrease in the period V.E/L (Figure 109).
6. The magical mode of sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased starts to increase in period V.E/E.
7. The male tomb owner adopts, from the period V.L on, the gesture of smelling a water lily flower, a gesture that, up to then had been considered to be feminine.

The (small) difference in starting-period of the items five (actual bringing of offerings) and six (magical supply) undoubtedly is due to loss of sufficient evidence caused by the ravages of time.

²⁸ PT, § 1784.

	IV.E	IV.L	V.E	V.M	V.L	VI.E	VI.L
The marital bed scene							
Indentation of the loaves							
Increasing length of the loaves							
Marsh scenes							
Change in mode of supply sustenance							
Magical sustenance more important							
Appearance reed plumes							
The male deceased smelling a lotus flower							
Mentioning the name of Osiris							
	0	0	4	4	8	7	7

Figure 115. The chronological development of themes possibly connected with the emergence of the Osiris cult.

In Figures 115 and 117 it is evident that the emergence of the themes connected to the Osiris cult start at the transition of the 4th to the 5th dynasty,²⁹ and that, from period V.L on, the number of themes that can be connected with the Osirian cult increases markedly.³⁰ This indicates that originally the mythology

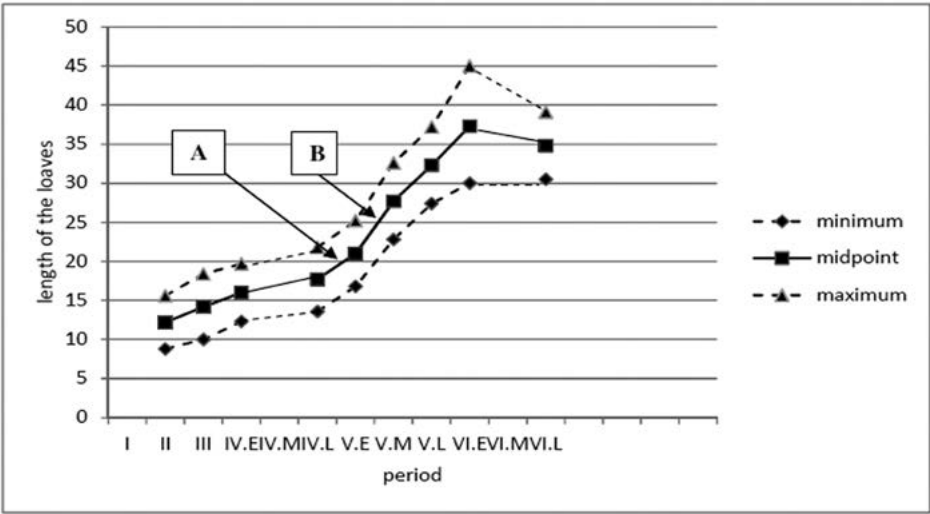


Figure 116. The chronological development of the length of the loaves (after intra Figure 57).

²⁹ Mathieu, *Osiris*, 78 ; LÄ, VI, 1246-61, s.v. 'Wiedergeburt', 1248 states the same period for the emergence of the cult; Hays, *Democratisation*, 123. Krejčí, *Abusir XI*, note 479 (pages 152-3).

³⁰ O'Connor, *Abydos*, 202.

of the cult developed slowly,³¹ but suddenly the cult became firmly installed, accepted and widespread, while the number of themes connected to the rebirth mythology of the cult increases. This appears to support the hypothesis of Mathieu that the cult has been 'adopted' by the central highest authority.³² But it is also possible, and more plausible, that the perspective that after rebirth everyone could go to the Field of Rushes, instead of 'living' in the gloomy interior of the tomb, took hold and ensured that the cult became accepted.³³

This emergence, during the transition of the 4th to the 5th dynasty is supported by the development that is shown in Figure 116, where the length of the loaves starts to increase

In part A, which is the period of the transition from dynasty IV to dynasty V, a small increase in the length of the loaves takes place and this can be seen as the lengthening of the loaves due to the change of loaves from the *bd3* mould to

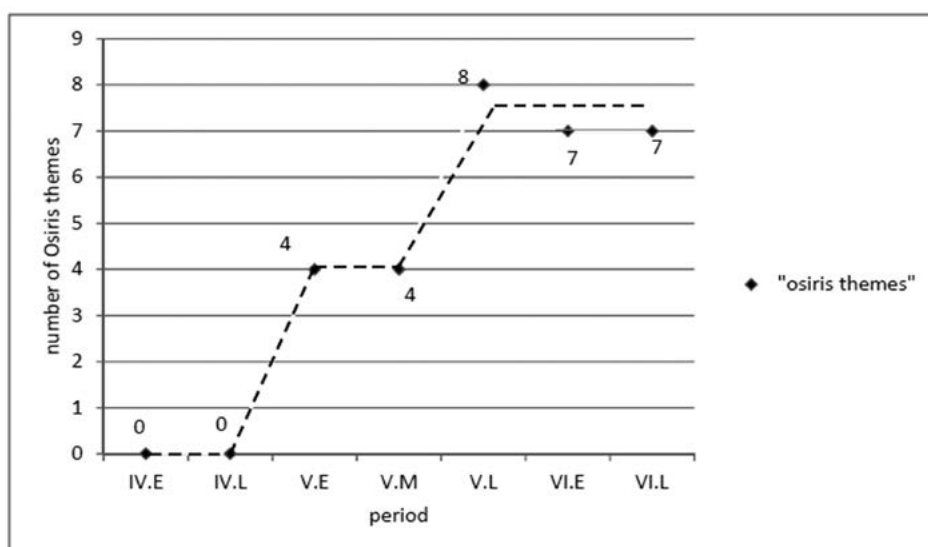


Figure 117. The chronology of the themes that can be connected to the Osiris cult.

³¹ Hays, *Democratization*, 123.

³² Mathieu, *Osiris*, 78-9. Smith, *Following Osiris*, 130-3 is strongly opposed against this theory.

³³ If during the early part of the Old Kingdom the general belief was that the *k3* of the deceased lived in the tomb, the question must be how they imagined life after death of a poor person who had been buried in a hole in the desert. Certainly for the poor the prospect of an after-life in the Field of Rushes must have been tempting.

loaves from the *ḥpr.t* form, a first step toward a change in the mode of sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased.

In part B of the curve the length increases markedly and this is the period in which the major change in the mode of sustenance takes place and the length of the loaves is adjusted to this change.

In the preliminary discussion of chapter IX a possible link between the period in which the magical food supply became more important than the actual food supply and the appearance of reed plumes on the offering table has been proposed. Because a link can be observed between the emergence of the cult of Osiris and the change in form of the objects on the table, this suggests to a connection between the change in the mode of sustenance of the *k3* of the deceased and the Osirian cult. The conclusion is that the cult was already in existence at the transition from dynasty IV to dynasty V, but that the main development took place during the periods V.M and V.L.

Catalogues and Tables

Table I. Catalogue of tombs with loaves on the offering table.¹

	name	PM	dating	no.	literature	μ	$\Sigma(x - \mu)n$
IV.E	<i>Mtn</i>	493-4	IV.E	10	Hassan, <i>Giza V</i> , Figure 17.	12.0	+/- 2.6
	<i>Ntr-^cpr.f</i>	---	IV.E	8	Alexanian, <i>Netjeraperef</i> , Plate 29.		
	<i>Nfr-m³c^t</i>	(IV)92-4	IV.E	8	Harpur, <i>Maidum</i> , Figure 43, Plate 10.		
	<i>R^c-htp</i>	(IV)90-2	IV.E	8	Harpur, <i>Maidum</i> , Plate 71.		
	<i>Hwtj</i>	489	IV.E	16	Ziegler, <i>AEP</i> , 246. ²		
	<i>Wp-m-nfrt</i>	57	IV.E	8	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 1.		
	<i>K3.j-nfr</i>	57	IV.E	15	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 4.		
	<i>Hwfw-nht</i>	57	IV.E	13	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 5; Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 17.		
	<i>Nfr</i>	58	IV.E	16	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 7.		
	<i>K3.j-m-^ch</i>	59	IV.E	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 10.		

¹ The number of loaves is determined for every of the offering table scenes wherever situated in the chapel.

² The date given by PM, III/2, 489 is dynasty V-VI. Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 53 dates the false door to the 4th dynasty. Ziegler, *AEP*, 246 gives, based on style criterions, IV.3 as the latest possible dating.

	<i>Jnj</i>	61	IV.E	16	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 16.		
	<i>Jwnw</i>	124	IV.E	14	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 25.		
	<i>Hwfw-h^cf [I]</i>	88-90	IV.E/M	13	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 31 (sw). ³		
14				12	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 32 (fd).		
IV.M/L	<i>Nfrt-j³bt</i>	59-60	IV.M	15	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 11.	12.7	+/-1.8 ⁴
	<i>Mrj</i>	501	IV.M	12	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 108-20.		
	<i>Dw³-n-hr</i>	200	IV.M	14	LD, II, 82.		
	<i>Nfr</i>	72-4	IV.M	12	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 167-71.		
	<i>Tntj</i>	74	IV.M/L	11	Der Manuelian, <i>Tjenti</i> , 790.		
	<i>S^t-hknt</i>	60	IV.M/L	11	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 13.		
	<i>S³st-s-hntjw</i>	74	IV.M/L	10	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 18.		
	G 2135	75	IV.M/L	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 20.		
	<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	124	IV.M/L	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 24.		
	G 4860	141	IV.M/L	18	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 30, Figure 165. ⁵		
	<i>Mrs-^cnh [III]</i>	197-9	IV.L	11	Dunham, <i>Gmast</i> 1, Figure 7.		
	<i>Wnšt</i>	139	IV.L	9	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Figure 158. ⁶		

³ Abbreviations employed in this study are: sw = southern wall; nw = northern wall; ww = western wall; ew = eastern wall; entr.th. = entrance thickness; fd = false door.

⁴ The value of 18 loaves of bread for tomb G 4860 has been omitted from the calculation due to an eccentricity of 2.3.

⁵ Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, 111 states that it is possible that the stele is an (unsuccessful) archaism and might even be dated to the 5th dynasty.

⁶ PM, III/1, 139 gives IV.M/L; Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, 106 discusses the dating and concludes that the date of the slab stele is later than IV.2 but not as late as dynasty V; Baud, *Famille royale*, 55-6 gives IV.M/L

	<i>Dd.f-hwfw</i>	219	IV.L	16	Junker, Giza X, Figure 25 (sw).		
	<i>Mrjb</i>	71-2	IV.L	14	LD, II, 19 (southern fd).		
				14	LD, II, 19 (northern fd)		
				16	LD, II, 19 (over the northern fd).		
	<i>K3.j-nfr</i>	77-8	IV.L-V.E	10	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 12.69 (northern entr. th.).		
	<i>K3w-njswt</i>	274	IV.L-V.E	14	Hassan, Giza II, Figure 86 (fd)		
	<i>K3.j-ϵpr</i>	---	IV.L-V.E	11	Bárta, Abusir V, Plate LXXXVI.		
				10	Bárta, Abusir V, Figure 4.16 (page 167) (ew).		
21	<i>Shm-k3.j</i>	246	IV.L-V.E	14	Hassan, Giza VI(3), Figure 139 (panel fd).		
V.E	<i>Ssm-nfr</i> [I]	142-3	V.E	12	Kanawati, Giza I, Plate 47 (northern fd).	10.7	+/- 2.3
	<i>Prsn</i>	48-9	V.E	10	LD, II, 17		
	<i>Ssh-t-htp</i>	149-50	V.E	15	LD, II, 23 (southern fd).		
				15	LD, II, 23 (northern fd).		
				11	LD, II, 23 (sw).		
				13	Junker, Giza II, Figure 25 (page 180) (northern entr.th.).		
	<i>K3.j-nj-njswt</i> [I]	78-9	V.E	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.29 (northern entr.th.).		
				11	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.32 (southern entr.th.).		
				12	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.48 (sw). ⁷		
				11	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.55 (panel southern fd).		

⁷ The loaf that is placed in the centre of the collection of loaves seems to be uncut; this might be due to an oversight of the craftsman making the decoration (the same 'oversight' can be seen on the panel of the southern false door (Der Manuelian, *Gmast* 8, Figure 13.55)). Junker, Giza II, Figure 21 (page 155) depicts the loaf as being cut in two halves.

				11	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.55 (panel northern fd).		
	<i>Nnsdr-k3.j</i>	72	V.E	8	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.25 (architrave entr. portico).		
				7	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (architrave southern fd).		
				7	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (panel southern fd).		
				7	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (architrave northern fd).		
				7	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (panel southern fd).		
	<i>Rwd-k3.j</i>	247	V.E	10	Hassan, <i>Giza VI(3)</i> , Figure 118 (fd).		
				9	Hassan, <i>Giza VI(3)</i> , Figure 119 (fd).		
	<i>I ntj</i>	141-2	V.E/M	9	LD, II, 30.		
	<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i>	583-4	V.E/M	16	Van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , Plate 5 (ww).		
				14	Van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , Plate 8 (sw).		
				14	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 33 (fd).		
	<i>Njswt-nfr</i>	143-4	V.E/M	7	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 9b (page 75) (sw).		
				12	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 27 (page 166) (panel southern fd, ww).		
				8	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 27 (page 166) (panel northern fd, ww).		
	<i>K3-pw-njswt</i>	135	V.E/M	7	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 14 (page 129) (architrave over entrance).		
				11	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 16 (page 133) (panel southern fd, ww).		

28				13	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 16 (page 133) (panel northern fd, ww).		
V.M	<i>Nfr-hww</i>	---	V.M	11	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 176-86. ⁸	11.8	+/- 1.9
	<i>K3.j-nj-njswt</i> [II]	79-80	V.M	10	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 22 (page 154) (ww).		
	<i>K3.j-swḏ3</i>	159	V.M	10	LD, II, 85 (sw)		
	<i>Nfr</i>	72-4	V.M	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 6.57 (southern entr.th.).		
				12	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 6.76 (panel fd ww).		
	<i>Jtj</i>	174	V.M	12	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 51 (sw).		
				12	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 52 (architrave).		
				8	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 54 (architrave over room entrance).		
	<i>R^c-h.f-^cnh</i>	207-8	V.M-V.L	8	LD, II, 10 (southern fd).		
				6	LD, II, 10 (northern fd).		
	<i>Nfr / K3-h3.j</i>	639-41	V.M-V.L	14	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-6).		
				8	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-8).		
				8	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-9).		
				15	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-10).		
				18	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV above 8-9).		
				15	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV above 11).		

⁸ On the right jamb of the false door the name of Osiris is written in a form that is mentioned in Lapp, *Opferformel* 7 [14, 15], Erman, *Osiris*, 93 [A.a.2.] also states the form. This might implicate that, if indeed the cult of Osiris is introduced in the later part of the 5th dynasty, the dating V.M might not be correct.

				11	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Kahay</i> (PM plan LXV-11).		
	<i>Nfr-b3w-ptḥ</i>	169-70	V.M- V.L	12	Weeks, <i>Gmast 5</i> , Figure 22 (ww).		
	<i>Jmrj</i>	170-4	V.M- V.L	14	Weeks, <i>Gmast 5</i> , Figure 22 (ww, southern part).		
	<i>Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw</i>	641-4	V.M- V.L	12	Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Figure 26; (northern fd).		
				14	Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Tafel 87; (sw).		
				14	Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Tafel 88; (nw).		
	<i>Hwfw-ḥ^cf[II]</i>	190-1	V.M- V.L	14	Simpson, <i>Gmast 3</i> , Figure 49 (sw).		
				12	Simpson, <i>Gmast 3</i> , Figure 50 (ww).		
	<i>Rdj-ns</i>	145	V.M- V.L	14	Der Manuelian, <i>Redines</i> (fd).		
	<i>Sdf3-ptḥ</i>	285	V.M- V.L	19	Hassan, <i>Giza I</i> , Figure 169 (fd).		
	<i>Nḥt-k3.j</i>	240	V.M- V.L	14	Hassan, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 20 (ww).		
				8	Hassan, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 20 (southern fd).		
29				14	Hassan, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 20 (northern fd).		
V.L	<i>Šḥm-ḥnh-ptḥ</i>	454-5	V.L	16	Simpson, <i>Sekhem-ankh-ptah</i> , Plate I (nw).	13.3	+/- 3.0
				12	Simpson, <i>Sekhem-ankh-ptah</i> , Plates IV, V (fd).		
	<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i>	467-8	V.L	22	Simpson, <i>Kaemnofret</i> , plan B.		
	<i>K3.j-m-ḥnh</i>	131-3	V.L	20	Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 29 (sw).		
				15	Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 30 (fd).		

	<i>K3.j-m-rḥw</i>	485-7	V.L	14	Mogensen, <i>Mastaba</i> , 7 (fd).		
				14	Mogensen, <i>Mastaba</i> , 12 (ww).		
	<i>Nbt</i>	624-5	V.L	10	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2a.		
	<i>Hww-wr</i>	254-5	V.L	10	LD, II, 44a.		
	<i>Sndm-jb</i>	87-8	V.L	12	LD, II, 75.		
	<i>R^c-wr</i> [II]	162-3	V.L	10	LD, II, 84 (ww).		
	<i>R^c-m-k3.j</i>	487-8	V.L	9	www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/577370		
	<i>Jrw-k3-ptḥ</i>	639	V.L	12	www.osirisnet.net		
	<i>Sṯw</i>	135-6	V.L	11	LD, II, 86 (ww).		
				12	LD, II, 86 (ww).		
				10	LD, II, 86 (fd).		
	<i>K3.j-ḥnt</i>	69	V.L	10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 148 (ww).		
	<i>K3pj</i>	69-70	V.L	10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 164 (fd).		
				10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 164 (fd).		
				10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 166 (ww).		
	<i>Nj-m3^ct-r^c</i>	70	V.L	10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 188 (ww).		
				14	Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figures 5.1 and 5.2.		
				14	Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.3 (fd)		
				14	Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.4 (ww corridor).		
	<i>Nj-m3^ct-r^c</i>	282-4	V.L	10	Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , Figure 228 (fd <i>Nfrs-rjs</i>).		
				10	Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , Figure 237 (fd).		
				17	Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , Figure 239 (sw).		
	<i>Nfr-msdj^r-ḥwfw</i>	---	V.L	18	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 207 (ww, southern part).		

	<i>Nfr-jnpw</i>	---	V.L	14	Bárta, <i>Abusir XXIII</i> , Figure 4.36; AS 37.		
	<i>Pr-nb</i>	497-8	V.L	20	Hayes, <i>Scepter I</i> , 93, (Figure 52), (nw).		
				12	Hayes, <i>Scepter I</i> , 93, (Figure 53), (fd).		
	<i>Nfr</i>	---	V.L	8	Cover of Prague Egyptological Studies, XV/2015 (panel fd).		
				8	Cover of Prague Egyptological Studies, XV/2015 (panel fd).		
	<i>Hkrt-nbty</i>	---	V.L	13	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B16 (panel fd).		
				17	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B11 (ew).		
	<i>Tjtst-hr</i>	---	V.L	13	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B19 (panel fd).		
	<i>Pth-htp</i> [II]	600-5	V.L	16	Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXIV (ww).		
				16	Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXVIII (nw).		
				20	Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXIX (fd).		
	<i>Sndjm-jbJntj</i>	85-7	V.L	20	Brovarski, <i>Gmast 7</i> , Figure 61 (sw).		
				20	Brovarski, <i>Gmast 7</i> , Figure 64 (nw).		
	<i>Sndjm-jb Mhij</i>	87-9	V.L	20	Brovarski, <i>Gmast 7</i> , Figure 124 (sw); LD, <i>Erg.</i> , Plate XV.		
				12	Brovarski, <i>Gmast 7</i> , Figure 126 (fd); LD, <i>II</i> , Plate 75.		
				16	Brovarski, <i>Gmast 7</i> , Figure 128 (nw); LD, <i>Erg.</i> , Plate XVI.		
	<i>K3-pw-Inpw</i>	579-80	V.L	14	Petrie, <i>Seven chapels</i> , Figure XI (fd).		
	<i>Tjj</i>	468-78	V.L	16	www.osirisnet.net (corridor III, no. 21).		
				14	www.osirisnet.net (chapel L-fd; room VI, no. 40).		

				14	www.osirisnet.net (chapel R-fd; room VI, no. 42).		
	<i>Nbt</i>	624-5	V.L	10	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 46 (panel fd).		
	<i>Shntjw</i>	645	V.L	12	Moussa, <i>Craftsmen</i> , ill. I (fd).		
	<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	616	V.L	22	Kanawati, <i>Iyefert</i> , Plate 45 (sw).		
	<i>Hnjt</i>	162	V.L	17	Junker, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 101 (ww).		
	<i>Hwt3</i>	279	V.L	14	Hassan, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 39 (fd).		
	<i>Jttj-sn</i>	252-3	V.L	18	Hassan, <i>Giza V</i> , Figure 125 (ww).		
	<i>Wsr</i>	121	V.L	6	Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 69 (architrave over entrance chapel).		
	<i>Mr-sw-^cnh</i>	269-70	V.L	9	Hassan, <i>Giza I</i> , Figure 185 (fd).		
	<i>Mdw-nfr</i>	258	V.L	12	Hassan, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 104 (architrave over entrance chapel).		
	<i>Hww-wrS</i>	254-5	V.L	10	Hassan, <i>Giza V</i> , Figure 108 (fd).		
	<i>Ssm-nfr</i> [IV]	623-6	V.L- VI.E	8	LD, II, 81 (fd).		
	<i>Ns-m-n3w</i>	209	V.L- VI.E	14	LD, II, 92 (sw). ⁹		
	<i>Nj-k3w-R^c</i>	697	V.L- VI.E	10	Saleh, <i>Hauptwerke</i> , no. 57 (fd).		
	<i>K3r</i>	---	V.L- VI.E	15	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , 88 (chapel I, fd).		
				16	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , 110 (chapel II, fd).		
	<i>Tp-m-^cnh</i>	698-9	V.L- VI.E	14	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 258-61.		
				19	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Figure 5.3.8 (sw).		
				16	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Figure 5.3.6. (nw).		

⁹ The two innermost loaves have the old *bd3* form with the baking rim.

	<i>M3-nfr</i>	575	V.L- VI.E	16	LD, II, 67 (nw).		
				16	LD, II, 69 (sw).		
	<i>Htj</i>	163-4	V.L- VI.E	12	Der Manuelian, G 5480, Figure 30 (ww).		
	<i>Pth-htp</i>	606-8	V.L- VI.E	16	Hassan, Ny'-ankh-Pepy, Figure 34b (fd).		
	<i>Shm-k3.j</i>	53	V.L- VI.E	16	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 4, Plate IXb (northern part ww).		
				21	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 4, Plate IXa (panel fd).		
	<i>Nfr</i>	137-8	V.L- VI.E	8	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 7 (panel southern fd).		
				8	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 7 (panel northern fd).		
				12	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 9 (ww southern part).		
				11	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 11 (ww northern part).		
	<i>Nfrs-rjs</i>	119	V.L- VI.E	18	Junker, Giza IX, Figure 26 (sw).		
	<i>Shm-k3.j</i>	221-2	V.L- VI.E	8	Junker, Giza XI, Figure 14 (nw).		
	<i>Shu-pw</i>	222	V.L- VI.E	13	Junker, Giza XI, Figure 33 (fd).		
				25	Junker, Giza XI, Figure 35 (nw).		
	<i>K3.j-dbhj</i>	276-7	V.L- VI.E	9	Hassan, Giza V, Figure 70 (ww).		
82				10	Hassan, Giza V, Figure 70 (fd).		
VI.E	<i>Nfr-sšm-R^c</i>	511-2	VI.E	10	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2b.	15.5	+/- 3.1
	<i>J3sn</i>	82	VI.E	12	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 4, Figure 33 (ww, southern part).		
				10	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 4, Figure 35 (ww).		
	<i>Jdw</i> [I]	165	VI.E	14	Junker, <i>IIIX</i> , Figure 32 (ww).		
				16	Junker, <i>IIIX</i> , Figure 35 (sw).		

	<i>Htp-hr.s</i>	227-8	VI.E	10	Junker, <i>Giza XI</i> , Figure 105; LD, II, 90 (sw).		
				10	Junker, <i>Giza XI</i> , Figure 104 (panel fd).		
	<i>Wrj</i>	121	VI.E	10	Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 72 (ww).		
	<i>3htj-htp</i>	49	VI.E	10	Abu-Bakr, <i>Giza</i> , Figure 5 (fd).		
				9	Abu-Bakr, <i>Giza</i> , Figure 6 (fd).		
	<i>Špsj-pw-pth</i>	---	VI.E	18	Kanawati, <i>Shepsipuptah</i> , Plate 38 (fd).		
	<i>Jnw-mnw</i>		VI.E	14	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 4b.		
	<i>Htp -nj-pth</i>	94-5	VI.E	22	Altenmüller, <i>Hetepniptah</i> , Abb. 7 (nw).		
	<i>Mr.f-nb.f</i>	---	VI.E	16	www.osirisnet.net (ww, southern fd).		
				16	ww, northern fd.		
				22	ww, southern part.		
				16	Northern wall.		
	<i>Str-k3.j</i>	160-1	VI.E	18	Junker, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 87 (ww, southern part).		
	<i>Snh-w(j)-pth</i>	---	VI.E	18	Kanawati, <i>S'ankhuiptah</i> , (ww).		
				16	Kanawati, <i>S'ankhuiptah</i> , (fd).		
				20	Kanawati, <i>S'ankhuiptah</i> , (nw).		
	<i>Htp -nj-pth</i>		VI.E	16	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 4c.		
	<i>Wrnw</i>	519	VI.E	12	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 26.		
	<i>Mttj</i>	646-8	VI.E	10	Kaplony, <i>Metheti</i> , no. 9 (page 51).		
	<i>Jrj.s</i>	---	VI.E	12	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 8c.		
	<i>Pth-šps [II]</i>	460	VI.E	16	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , blatt 21 (no. 1418).		

	<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i>	525-34	VI.E	26	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2d; www.osirisnet.net		
	<i>W^ctt-ht-hr</i>	534-5	VI.E	20	www.osirisnet.net (sw niche fd).		
				20	www.osirisnet.net (nw niche fd).		
	<i>Mrjj-ttj</i>	536-7	VI.E	18	www.osirisnet.net room C3 (fd).		
				22	Room C3 (sw).		
				22	Room C3 (nw).		
	<i>K3.j-gm-nj</i>	521-5	VI.E	14	www.osirisnet.net (fd) (room VII).		
	<i>Hsj</i>	---	VI.E	14	Kanawati, <i>Hesy</i> , Plate 57.		
	<i>Hntj-k3.j</i>	508-11	VI.E	20	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2e.		
	<i>R^c-wr</i>	558	VI.E	16	El-Fikey, <i>Re'-wer</i> , Plate 6.		
	<i>Mhw</i>	619-22	VI.E	16	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 75 (fd).		
				14	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 56 (sw).		
				14	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 64 (nw).		
	<i>nh-mrj-r^c</i>	621-2	VI.E	15	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 81 (sw).		
				21	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 86 (nw).		
				14	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 95 (fd).		
	<i>Htp-k3.j</i>	---	VI.E	22	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 96 (fd).		
	<i>Sssst</i>	617	VI.E	14	Kanawati, <i>Iynefert</i> , 54 (ww, southern part).		
				16	Kanawati, <i>Iynefert</i> , 55 (fd).		
				18	Kanawati, <i>Iynefert</i> , 59 (nw).		
47	<i>Smdntj</i>	520	VI.E/M	12	Lloyd, <i>Semdenti</i> , Plate 5 (fd).		
VI.M/L	<i>Mrrj</i>	518-9	VI.M	18	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 12 (nw).	12.8	+/-2.87
				18	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 14 (sw).		
				13	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 2 (exterior fd).		

				12	Davies, Mereri, Plate 11 (interior fd).		
	<i>Mry-r^c-nh</i>	586	VI.M	8	Borchardt, Denkmäler I, Blatt 39 (no. 1483).		
	<i>K3-hj.f</i>	76	VI.M/L	11	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 31 (ww, southern fd).		
				10	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 32 (ww, northern fd).		
				10	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 32 (ww, northern fd).		
				14	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 33 (ww, southern part).		
				14	Junker, Giza VI, Figure 38a (sw).		
	<i>K3r</i>	184-5	VI.M/L	26	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 25 (court C, ww) Plan XXX PM, room II.		
				22	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 23 (court C, nw) Plan XXX PM, room II.		
				18	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 30 (room E, nw) Plan XXX PM, room IV.		
				18	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 31 (room E, sw) Plan XXX PM, room IV.		
				8	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 32 (room E, fd) Plan XXX PM, room IV.		
	<i>Jdw</i>	185-6	VI.M/L	12	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 39 (ww, south of fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.		
				18	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 40 (ww, fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.		
				10	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 41 (ww, north of fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.		

	<i>Šnꜥj</i>	---	VI.L	9 ¹⁰	James, <i>Hiero texts I</i> , Plate XXXVIII (BM 212).		
	<i>Nfr-ꜥnh-tm</i>	---	VI.L	10	www.osirisnet.net (nw).		
				12	Northern part of ww.		
				10	ww northern fd.		
				10	ww northern fd on southern part.		
				8	ww southern fd on southern part.		
	<i>Ttw</i>	537	VI.L	18	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 9.		
	<i>Jsꜥj</i>	---	VI.L	13	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 82-5.		
	<i>ttj</i>	684-5	VI.L	12	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 6d.		
	<i>Mrrꜥj</i>	607-8	VI.L	14	Hassan, <i>Hemet-R'</i> , Figure 17b (fd).		
	<i>Hꜥr-mrw</i>	626	VI.L	22	Hassan, <i>Hemet-R'</i> , Figure 37b (fd).		
	<i>Wd-kꜥw.s</i>	626	VI.L	14	Hassan, <i>Hemet-R'</i> , Plate LV (fd).		
	<i>ꜥht-htꜥ</i>	633-4	VI.L	14	Petrie, <i>Seven chapels</i> , Plate V (nw).		
				10	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 422 (exterior fd).		
				14	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 424 (interior fd).		
	<i>Jꜥj-n-ꜥr</i>	630	VI.L	17	Hassan, <i>Hemet-R'</i> , Figure 34b (fd).		
	<i>Pꜥꜥj</i>	677	VI.L	15	Jéquier, <i>Tombeaux particuliers</i> , Figure 116 (fd).		
36	<i>Tꜥꜥj</i>	684	VI.L	12	Jéquier, <i>Pepy II</i> , Vol III, Figure 70.		

¹⁰ Although some details of the loaves are still present there is a line carved around them as a whole.

Table II. Chronological development of the number of loaves of the stelae of dynasties I - III

No. of loaves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	stele no. ¹
dynasty										
I.M/L			x							EM99-27
			x							S01-38
I.L-II.E			x							EM99-14
			x							EM99-25
II.E			x							EM99-2
			x							EM99-7
			x							EM99-28
			x							EM99-9
1				x						S01-37
					x					Bankfield stele
2						x				EM99-11
					x					EM99-20
					x					EM99-24
II.E/M					x					EM99-10
					x					EM99-12
II.M					x					EM99-5
			x							EM99-6
			x							S01-36
			x							EM99-26
			x							<i>Gm-n-sšr</i>
				x						EM99-23
				x						EM99-15
				x						EM99-17
					x					EM99-21
						x				EM99-22
3							x			EM99-30
4								x		EM05-100
II.M/L				x						EM99-3
				x						EM99-18
II.L				x						EM99-4
						x				EM99-35
						x				S05-135

¹ Not included in this table are the following stelae from Köhler, *Helwan II*: EM99-1, EM99-8, EM99-16, EM99-29, S99-5 and S03-130.

No. of loaves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	stele no. ¹
						x				<i>Shnr</i>
III 5				x						EM97-43
						x				EM99-13
						x				<i>Htpj</i>
						x				<i>3bnb</i>
								x		EM99-32
								x		<i>Hsjj-R^c</i>
								x		<i>H^c-b3w-skr</i>
									x	EM99-19

Table IIIa. A re-ordering of table II.

No. of loaves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	stele no.
period										
I.L										S01-38
I.L										EM99-27
I.L-II.E										EM99-14
I.L-II.E										EM99-25
II.E										EM99-2
II.E										EM99-7
II.E										EM99-9
II										EM99-28
II.M										EM99-6
II.M										S01-36
II.M										EM99-26
II.E										S01-37
II.M										EM99-23
II.M										EM99-15
II.M										EM99-17
II.M/L										EM99-3
II.M/L										EM99-18
II.L										EM99-4
III										EM97-43
II.E										EM99-20
II.E										EM99-24
II.E/M										EM99-10
II.E/M										EM99-12
II.M										EM99-21
II.M										EM99-5
II.M										EM99-22
II.M/L										EM99-35
II.L										<i>Shnr</i>
II.L										S05-135
II.E										EM99-11
III										EM99-13
III										<i>Htpj</i> ¹
II										EM99-30
II										EM05-100
III										EM99-32
III										<i>Hsjj-R</i> ^c

Dynasty I

Dynasty III

Dynasty II

¹ Bárta, *Abusir* XIX, Plate 18.

III											EM05-100
III											EM99-32
III											<i>Hs_{jj}-R^c</i>
III											<i>H^c-b_{3w}-skr</i>
III											EM99-19

Table III.c. Chronological parallelism.

No. of loaves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	stele no.			5	6	7	8	Stele no.
period																	
I.L										S01-38							
I.L										EM99-27							
I.L-II.E										EM99-14							
I.L-II.E										EM99-25							
II.E										EM99-2							EM99-20
II.E										EM99-7							EM99-24
II.E										EM99-9							EM99-10
II										EM99-28							EM99-12
II.M										EM99-6							EM99-21
II.M										S01-36							EM99-5
II.M										EM99-26							EM99-22
II.M										S01-37							EM99-11
II.M										EM99-15							EM99-35
II.M										EM99-17							
II.M										EM99-23							
II.M/L										EM99-3							EM99-35
II.M/L										EM99-18							
II.L										EM99-4							<i>Shnr</i>
II.L										EM97-43							S05-135
II.E										EM99-20							
II.E										EM99-24							
II.E/M										EM99-10							
II.E/M										EM99-12							
II.M										EM99-21							

II.M										EM99-5							
II.M										EM99-22							
II.M										EM99-11							
II.M/L										EM99-35							
II.L										<i>Shnr</i>							
II.L										S05-135							
III										EM99-13							
III										<i>Htpj</i> ³							
III										EM99-30							
III										EM05-100							
III										EM99-32							
III										<i>Hsjj-R^c</i>							
III										<i>H^c-b3w-skr</i>							
III										EM99-19							
Dynasty I					Dynasty II					Dynasty III							

³ Bárta, *Abusir XIX*, Plate 18.

Table IV. The length of the loaves of bread

	name	PM	dating	literature	length (%)
IV.E	<i>Mtn</i>	493-4	IV.E	Hassan, <i>Giza V</i> , Figure 17 (panel fd).	16
	<i>R^c-htp</i>	[IV] 92-4	IV.E	Harpur, <i>Maidum</i> , Plate 71 (panel fd) .	14
	<i>Hwtj</i>	489	IV.E	Ziegler, <i>AEP</i> , 246 (panel fd). ¹	14
	<i>Wp-m-nfrt</i>	57	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 1.	14
	<i>K3.j-nfr</i>	57	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 4.	21
	<i>Hwfw-nht</i>	57	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 5; Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 17.	16
	<i>Nfr</i>	58	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 7.	21
	<i>K3.j-m-ḥ</i>	59	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 10.	11
	<i>Jnj</i>	61	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 16.	12
	<i>Jwnw</i>	124	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 25.	11
	<i>Hwfw-ḥ^c.f[T]</i>	88-90	IV.E/M	Simpson, <i>Gmast 3</i> , Figure 31 (sw). ²	27
IV.M/L	<i>Nfrt-j3bt</i>	59-60	IV.M	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 11.	16
	<i>Mrj</i>	501	IV.M	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 108-20 (panel fd).	14
	<i>Dw3-n-ḥr</i>	200	IV.M	LD, II, 82 (panel fd).	26
	<i>Tntj</i>	74	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Tjenti</i> , 790 (panel fd).	13
	<i>St-ḥknt</i>	60	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 13.	13
	<i>S3t-s-ḥntjw</i>	74	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 18.	23
	<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	124	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 24.	17

¹ The date given by PM, III/2, 489 is dynasty V-VI. Borchardt, *Denkmäler I*, 53 dates the false door to the 4th dynasty. Ziegler, *AEP*, 246 gives, based on style criteria, IV.3 as the latest possible dating.

² Abbreviations employed in this study are: sw = southern wall; nw = northern wall; ww = western wall; ew = eastern wall; entr.th. = entrance thickness; fd = false door.

	<i>Mrs-ḥnḥ</i> [TTT]	197-9	IV.L	Dunham, <i>Gmast</i> 1, Figure 7 (panel fd).	18
	<i>Wnšt</i>	139	IV.L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Figure 163. ³	24
	<i>Mrjb</i>	71-2	IV.L	LD, II, 19 (southern fd).	12
				LD, II, 19 (northern fd).	14
				LD, II, 19 (scene over the northern fd).	16
	<i>K3.j-ḥpr</i>	---	IV.L-V.E	Bárta, <i>Abusir</i> V, Plate LXXXVI panel fd).	24
V.E	<i>Sšm-nfr</i> [I]	142-3	V.E	Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> I, Plate 47 (northern fd).	29
	<i>Pr-sn</i>	48-9	V.E	LD, II, 17 (panel fd).	29
	<i>Sšht-ḥtp</i>	149-50	V.E	LD, II, 23 (southern fd).	15
				LD, II, 23 (northern fd).	15
				Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> II, Figure 43 (northern entr.th.).	10
	<i>K3.j-nj-njswt</i> [I]	78-9	V.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.29 (northern entr.th.).	21
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.36 (southern entr.th.).	18
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.55 (panel southern fd).	20
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.55 (panel northern fd).	21
	<i>Nnsdr-k3.j</i>	72	V.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.25 (architrave entr.portico).	20
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (architrave southern fd).	26
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (panel southern fd).	21
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.63 (panel northern fd).	27

³ PM, III/1, 139 gives IV.M/L; Der Manuelian, *Slab stelae*, 106 discusses the dating and concludes that the date of the slab stele is later than IV.2 but not as late as dynasty V; Baud, *Famille royale*, 55-6 gives IV.M/L

				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.57 (architrave northern fd).	25
	<i>Rwd-k3.j</i>	247	V.E	Hassan, <i>Giza VI</i> (3), Figure 119 (panel fd).	29
	<i>Tntj</i>	141-2	V.E/M	LD, II, 30 (panel fd).	23
	<i>Nfr-jrt-nf</i>	583-4	V.E/M	Van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , Plate 5 (ww).	29
				Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 33 (panel fd).	23
	<i>Njswt-nfr</i>	143-4	V.E/M	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 9b (sw).	17
				Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 27 (page 166) (panel southern fd, ww).	20
				Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 27 (page 166) (panel northern fd, ww).	22
	<i>K3-pw-njswt</i>	135	V.E/M	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 14 (page 129) (architrave over entrance).	11
				Giza Archives, AEOS_II_3027 (panel southern fd, ww).	19
				Giza Archives, AEOS_II_3039 (panel northern fd, ww).	16
V.M	<i>K3.j-wd-^cn</i>	894	V.M	James, <i>Hiero texts I</i> , Plate VIII (BM 1223) (panel fd).	24
	<i>Nfr-hww</i>	---	V.M	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 176-86 (panel fd). ⁴	37
	<i>K3.j-nj-njswt [TT]</i>	79-80	V.M	Junker, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 22 (ww).	25
	<i>K3.j-sw^d3</i>	159	V.M	LD, II, 85 (sw)	26
	<i>Nfr</i>	72-4	V.M	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 6.76 (panel fd).	21
	<i>R^c-h.f-^cnh</i>	207-8	V.M-V.L	LD, II, 10 (southern fd).	26
	<i>Nfr / K3-h3.j</i>	639-41	V.M-V.L	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-6; panel fd).	31
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-8; panel fd).	27
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-9; panel fd).	26

⁴ On the right jamb of the false door the name of Osiris is written in a form that is mentioned in Lapp, *Opferformel* 7 [14, 15], Erman, *Osiris*, 93 [A.a.2.] also states this form. This might implicate that, if indeed the cult of Osiris is introduced in the later part of the 5th dynasty, the dating V.M is not correct.

				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-10) (ww).	31
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV above 10) (ww).	30
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-11) (panel fd).	22
	<i>Jmrj</i>	170-4	V.M-V.L	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 44 (ww, southern part).	38
	<i>Nj-^cnh-hnmw</i>	641-4	V.M-V.L	Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> (fd 1st vestibule).	31
				Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> (sw 2nd vestibule).	19
				Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , (sw).	25
				Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , (nwl).	24
				Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , (panel northern fd chapel)	38
	<i>Hwfw-h^cf [II]</i>	190-1	V.M-V.L	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 49 (sw).	28
				Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 50 (ww).	23
	<i>Rdj-ns</i>	145	V.M-V.L	Der Manuelian, <i>Redi-nes</i> (panel fd).	22
	<i>Sdf3-ptḥ</i>	285	V.M-V.L	Hassan, <i>Giza I</i> , Figure 169 (panel fd).	18
	<i>Nḥt-k3.j</i>	240	V.M-V.L	Hassan, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 20 (ww).	26
				Hassan, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 20 (panel southern fd).	38
				Hassan, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 20 (panel northern fd).	37
V.L	<i>Shm-^cnh-ptḥ</i>	454-5	V.L	Simpson, <i>Sekhem-ankh-ptah</i> , Plate I (nw).	28
				Simpson, <i>Sekhem-ankh-ptah</i> , Plates IV, V (panel fd).	33
	<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i>	467-8	V.L	Simpson, <i>Kaemnofret</i> , plan B (panel fd).	28
	<i>K3.j-m-^cnh</i>	131-3	V.L ⁵	Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 29 (sw).	30
				Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 30 (panel fd).	33

⁵ The date of this tomb is controversial and its allocation to period V.L is based on Kanawati, *Giza I*, 18 (Djedkare, V.8) and Woods, *Contribution*, 172 (V.8 and possibly early V.9).

	<i>Nbt</i>	624-5	V.L	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2a (panel fd).	40
	<i>Hww-wr</i>	254-5	V.L	LD, II, 44a (panel fd).	31
	<i>Sndm-jb</i>	87-8	V.L	LD, II, 75 (panel fd).	32
	<i>R^c-wr [TT]</i>	162-3	V.L	LD, II, 84 (ww).	33
	<i>R^c-m-k3.j</i>	487-8	V.L	www.metmuseum.org /art/collection/search/577370 (panel fd)	32
	<i>Jrw-k3-ptḥ</i>	639	V.L	www.osirisnet.net (panel fd).	36
	<i>K3.j-ḥnt</i>	69	V.L	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 148 (ww).	35
	<i>K3pj</i>	69-70	V.L	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 164 (panel fd).	33
				Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 164 (panel fd).	34
				Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 166 (ww).	37
	<i>Nj-m3^ct-r^c</i>	70	V.L	Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.1 (ww, corridor).	40
				Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.3 (panel fd)	38
	<i>Nj-m3^ct-r^c</i>	282-4	V.L	Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , Figure 228 (panel fd <i>Nfrs-rjs</i>).	35
				Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , Figure 237 (panel fd).	38
	<i>Nfr-jnpw</i>	---	V.L	Bárta, <i>Abusir XXIII</i> , Figure 4.26; AS 37 (panel fd).	32
	<i>Pr-nb</i>	497-8	V.L	Hayes, <i>Scepter I</i> , 93, (Figure 52), (nw).	28
				Hayes, <i>Scepter I</i> , 93, (Figure 53), (panel fd).	26
	<i>Nfr</i>	---	V.L	Cover of Prague Egyptological Studies, XV/2015 (panel fd).	24
	<i>Hkrt-nbty</i>	---	V.L	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B16 (panel fd).	27
	<i>Tjst-ḥr</i>	---	V.L	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B19 (panel fd).	27
	<i>Sndjm-jbJntj</i>	85-7	V.L	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 61 (sw).	29
				Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 64 (nw).	30
	<i>Sndjm-jb Mhj</i>	87-9	V.L	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 124 (sw); LD, <i>Erg.</i> , Plate XV.	36
				Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 126 (panel fd); LD, II, Plate 75.	29

				Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 128 (nw); LD, <i>Erg.</i> , Plate XVI.	36
	<i>Tjj</i>	468-78	V.L	www.osirisnet.net (corridor III, no. 21).	35
				www.osirisnet.net (chapel L-fd; room VI, no. 40).	37
				www.osirisnet.net (chapel R-fd; room VI, no. 42).	34
	<i>Nbt</i>	624-5	V.L	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 46 (panel fd).	39
	<i>Hnjt</i>	162	V.L	Junker, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 101 (ww).	25
	<i>Hwt3</i>	279	V.L	Hassan, <i>Giza III</i> , Figure 39 (panel fd).	37
	<i>Jttj-sn</i>	252-3	V.L	Hassan, <i>Giza V</i> , Figure 125 (ww).	31
	<i>Hww-wr</i>	254-5	V.L	Hassan, <i>Giza V</i> , Figure 108 (panel fd).	36
	<i>Ssm-nfr</i> [IV]	623-6	V.L-VI.E	LD, II, 81 (panel fd).	32
	<i>Nj-k3w-R^c</i>	697	V.L-VI.E	Saleh, <i>Hauptwerke</i> , no. 57 (panel fd).	25
	<i>K3r</i>	---	V.L-VI.E	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Plate 9 (chapel I, panel fd).	36
				Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Plate 19 (chapel II, panel fd).	39
				Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Plate 17 (sw).	40
				Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Plate 15 (nw).	42
	<i>Tp-m-^cnḥ</i>	698-9	V.L-VI.E	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 258-61 (panel fd).	29
	<i>M3-nfr</i>	575	V.L-VI.E	LD, II, 67 (nw).	30
				LD, II, 69 (sw).	32
	<i>Htj</i>	163-4	V.L-VI.E	Der Manuelian, <i>G 5480</i> , Figure 30 (ww).	25
	<i>Sḥm-k3.j</i>	53	V.L-VI.E	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 4, Plate IXb (northern part ww).	32
				Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 4, Plate IXa (panel fd).	39
	<i>Nfr</i>	137-8	V.L-VI.E	Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 7 (panel southern fd).	24
				Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 7 (panel northern fd).	27
				Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 9 (ww middle part).	30

				Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 11 (ww northern part).	26
	<i>Nfrs-rjs</i>	119	V.L-VI.E	Junker, <i>Giza IX</i> , Figure 26 (sw).	23
	<i>Šht-pw</i>	222	V.L-VI.E	Junker, <i>Giza XI</i> , Figure 35 (nw).	35
VI.E	<i>Nfr-sšm-R^c</i>	511-2	VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2b (panel fd).	45
	<i>J3sn</i>	82	VI.E	Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Figure 33 (ww, southern part).	24
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Figure 35 (ww).	33
	<i>Jdw [T]</i>	165	VI.E	Junker, <i>VIII</i> , Figure 32 (ww).	46
				Junker, <i>VIII</i> , Figure 35 (sw).	33
	<i>Htp-ḥr.s</i>	227-8	VI.E	Junker, <i>Giza XI</i> , Figure 105; LD, II, 90 (sw).	23
				Junker, <i>Giza XI</i> , Figure 104 (panel fd).	33
	<i>Wrj</i>	121	VI.E	Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 72 (ww).	21
	<i>3htj-htp</i>	49	VI.E	Abu-Bakr, <i>Giza</i> , Figure 5 (panel fd).	42
				Abu-Bakr, <i>Giza</i> , Figure 6 (panel fd).	30
	<i>Jnw-mnw</i>		VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 4b (panel fd).	35
	<i>Mr.f-nb.f</i>	---	VI.E	www.osirisnet.net ww, southern part.	36
				Ibidem, nw	34
	<i>Wrnw</i>	519	VI.E	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 26 (panel fd).	45
	<i>Mttj</i>	646-8	VI.E	Kaplony, <i>Metheti</i> , no. 9 (page 51) (panel fd).	25
	<i>Pth-šps [TT]</i>	460	VI.E	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , blatt 21 (no. 1418) panel fd).	45
	<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i>	525-34	VI.E	Duell, <i>Mereruka</i> , Vol 1, chamber A8 (nw), Plate 63	40
				www.osirisnet.net false door chamber A8	51
	<i>W^ctt-ḥt-ḥr</i>	534-5	VI.E	www.osirisnet.net (sw niche fd).	38
				www.osirisnet.net (nw niche fd).	41
	<i>Mrjj-ttj</i>	536-7	VI.E	www.osirisnet.net room C3 (panel fd).	44
				Room C3 (sw).	39
				Room C3 (nw).	39

	<i>Hntj-k3.j</i>	508-11	VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2e (panel fd).	45
	<i>Mhw</i>	619-22	VI.E	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 75 (panel fd).	41
				Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 56 (sw).	39
				Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 64 (nw).	40
	<i>ḥnh-mrj-r</i>	621-2	VI.E	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 81 (sw).	38
				Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 86 (nw).	36
	<i>Htp-k3.j</i>	---	VI.E	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 96 (panel fd).	33
VI.M/L	<i>Mrrj</i>	518-9	VI.M	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 12 (nw).	41
				Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 2 (panel exterior fd).	42
				Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 11 (panel interior fd).	39
	<i>K3-hj.f</i>	76	VI.M/L	Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 31 (panel southern fd).	36
				Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 32 (panel northern fd).	38
				Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , Figure 38a (sw).	41
	<i>K3r</i>	184-5	VI.M/L	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 25 (court C,ww) Plan XXX PM, room II.	30
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 23 (court C,nw) Plan XXX PM, room II.	36
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 30 (room E,nw) Plan XXX PM, room IV	35
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 31 (room E,sw) Plan XXX PM, room IV.	36
	<i>Jdw</i>	185-6	VI.M/L	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 39 (ww, south of fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.	37
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 40 (panel fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.	43
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 41 (ww, north of fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.	38

	<i>Nj-ḥnh-nfrtm</i>	---	VI.L	www.osirisnet.net Northern part of ww	31
				Panel northern fd.	26
				ww northern fd on southern part.	30
				ww southern fd on southern part.	25
	<i>Jsj</i>	---	VI.L	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 82-5 (panel fd).	32
	<i>ttj</i>	684-5	VI.L	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 6d (panel fd).	40
	<i>Mrrj</i>	607-8	VI.L	Hassan, <i>Hemet-R'</i> , Figure 17b (panel fd).	29
	<i>Hr-mrw</i>	626	VI.L	Hassan, <i>Hemet-R'</i> , Figure 37b (panel fd).	31
			VI.L	Hassan, <i>Hemet-R'</i> , Plate LIV (panel fd).	31
				Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 422 (panel exterior fd).	33
				Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 424 (panel interior fd).	32

Table V. The presence of the baking rim

	name	PM	dating	literature
IV.E	<i>Nfr-ḥpr f</i>	---	IV.E	Alexanian, <i>Netjeraperef</i> , Plate 29.
	<i>Nfr-m3t</i>		IV.E	Harpur, <i>Maidum</i> , Figure 43, Plate 10.
	<i>Rḥ-htp</i>		IV.E	Harpur, <i>Maidum</i> , Plate 71.
	<i>Hwtj</i>	489	IV.E	Ziegler, <i>AEP</i> , 246.
	<i>Wp-m-nfr t</i>	57	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 1.
	<i>K3.j-nfr</i>	57	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 4.
	<i>Hwfw-nht</i>	57	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 5; Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 17.
	<i>Nfr</i>	58	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 7.
	<i>K3.j-m-ḥ</i>	59	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 10.
	<i>Jnj</i>	61	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 16.
	<i>Jwnw</i>	124	IV.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 25.
	<i>Hwfw-ḥ f [T]</i>	88-90	IV.E/M	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 31 (sw).
				Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 32 (fd).
IV.M/L	<i>Nfrt-j3bt</i>	59-60	IV.M	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 11.
	<i>Mrj</i>	501	IV.M	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 108-20.
	<i>Nfr</i>	72-4	IV.M	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 167-71.
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 6.57 (southern entr.th.).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 6.76 (panel fd ww).
	<i>St-ḥknt</i>	60	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 13.
	<i>S83t-s-ḥntjw</i>	74	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 18.
	G 2135	75	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 20.
	<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	124	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 24.
	G 4860	141	IV.M/L	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 30, Figure 165.
	<i>Mrs-ḥnh [III]</i>	197-9	IV.L	Dunham, <i>Gmast</i> 1, Figure 7.
	<i>Dd.f-ḥwfw</i>	219	IV.L	Junker, <i>Giza</i> X, Figure 25 (sw).
	<i>Mrjb</i>	71-2	IV.L	Der Manualian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, 4.51 (southern fd)
				Der Manualian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, 4.51 (northern fd)

				Der Manualian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, 4.51 (over the northern fd).
	<i>K3.j-nfr</i>	77-8	IV.L-V.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 12.68 (northern entr. th.).
	<i>K3.j-ḥpr</i>	---	IV.L-V.E	Bárta, <i>Abusir V</i> , Plate LXXXVI.
				Bárta, <i>Abusir V</i> , Figure 4.16 (page 167) (ew).
V.E	<i>Sšm-nfr</i> [I]	142-3	V.E	Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 47 (northern fd).
	<i>K3.j-nj-njswt</i> [I]	78-9	V.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.29 (northern entr.th.).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.32 (southern entr.th.).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.48 (sw).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.55 (panel southern fd).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.55 (panel northern fd).
	<i>N-sḏr-k3.j</i>	72	V.E	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.25 (architrave entr. portico).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (architrave southern fd).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (panel southern fd).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.57 (architrave northern fd).
				Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.61 (panel northern fd).
	<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i>	583-4	V.E/M	Van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , Plate 5 (ww).
				Van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , Plate 8 (sw).
				Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 33 (fd).
V.M	<i>Nfr-ḥww</i>	---	V.M	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 176-86.
	<i>K3.j-wḏ-ḥnh</i>	894	V.M	James, <i>Hiero texts I</i> , Plate VIII (BM 1223) (panel fd).
	<i>Jtj</i>	174	V.M	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 51 (sw).
				Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 52 (architrave).
				Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 54 (architrave over room entrance).

	<i>Nfr / K3-h3.j</i>	639-41	V.M-V.L	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-6).
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-8).
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-9).
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-10).
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV above 8-9).
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV above 11).
				Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-11).
	<i>Nfr-b3w-ptḥ</i>	169-70	V.M-V.L	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 22 (ww).
	<i>Jmrj</i>	170-4	V.M-V.L	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 44 (ww, southern part).
	<i>Nj-ḥnh-ḥnmw</i>	641-4	V.M-V.L	Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Figure 26; (northern fd).
				Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Tafel 87; (sw).
				Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Tafel 88; (nw).
	<i>Ḥwfw-ḥḥf</i> [II]	190-1	V.M-V.L	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 49 (sw).
				Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 50 (ww).
	<i>Rdj-ns</i>	145	V.M-V.L	Der Manuelian, <i>Redi-nes</i> (fd).
V.L	<i>Shm-ḥnh-ptḥ</i>	454-5	V.L	Simpson, <i>Sekhem-ankh-ptah</i> , Plates IV, V (fd).
	<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i>	467-8	V.L	Simpson, <i>Kaemnofret</i> , plan B.
	<i>K3.j-m-ḥnh</i>	131-3	V.L	Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 29 (sw).
				Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 30 (fd).
	<i>K3.j-m-rḥw</i>	485-7	V.L	Mogensen, <i>Mastaba</i> , 12 (ww)
	<i>Nbt</i>	624-5	V.L	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2a.
	<i>Rḥ-m-k3.j</i>	487-8	V.L	www.metmuseum.org /art/collection/search/577370
	<i>Jrw-k3-ptḥ</i>	639	V.L	www.osirisnet.net
	<i>K3.j-ḥnt</i>	69	V.L	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 148 (ww).
	<i>K3.pj</i>	69-70	V.L	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 164 (fd).
				Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 164 (fd).

				Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 166 (ww).
	<i>Nj-mʕt-rʕ</i>	70	V.L	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 188 (ww).
				Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.1
				Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.3 (fd)
				Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.4 (ww corridor).
	<i>Nfr-jnpw</i>	---	V.L	Bárta, <i>Abusir XXIII</i> , Figure 4.6; AS 37 (fd)
	<i>Nfr</i>	---	V.L	Cover of Prague Egyptological Studies, XV/2015 (panel fd).
				Cover of Prague Egyptological Studies, XV/2015 (panel fd).
	<i>ḥkrt-nbty</i>	---	V.L	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B16 (panel fd).
				Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B11 (ew).
	<i>Ttjst-ḥr</i>	---	V.L	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B19 (panel fd).
	<i>Pth-ḥtp [TT]</i>	600-5	V.L	Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXIV (ww).
				Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXVIII (nw).
				Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXIX (fd).
	<i>šndjm-jbIntj</i>	85-7	V.L	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 61 (sw).
				Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 64 (nw).
	<i>šndjm-jb Mḥj</i>	87-9	V.L	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 124 (sw); LD, <i>Erg.</i> , Plate XV.
				Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 126 (fd); LD, <i>II</i> , Plate 75.
				Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 128 (nw); LD, <i>Erg.</i> , Plate XVI.
	<i>Kʕ-pw-Inpw</i>	579-80	V.L	Petrie, <i>Seven chapels</i> , Figure XI (fd).
	<i>tij</i>	468-78	V.L	Nfr-Htp.s www.osirisnet.net (corridor III, no. 21).
				www.osirisnet.net (chapel L-fd; room VI, no. 40).
				www.osirisnet.net (chapel R-fd; room VI, no. 42).
	<i>Nbt</i>	624-5	V.L	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 46 (panel fd).
	<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	616	V.L	Kanawati, <i>Iynefert</i> , Plate 45 (sw).
	<i>Nj-kʕw-Rʕ</i>	697	V.L-VI.E	Saleh, <i>Hauptwerke</i> , no. 57 (fd).

	<i>K3r</i>	---	V.L- VI.E	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , 88 (chapel I, fd).
				Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Plate 14 (nw II)
				Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Plate 15 (chapel II, fd).
				Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Figure 5.3.8 (sw).
				Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Figure 5.3.6. (nw).
	<i>Tp-m-ḥnh</i>	698-9	V.L- VI.E	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 258-61.
	<i>Htj</i>	163-4	V.L- VI.E	Der Manuelian, <i>G 5480</i> , Figure 30 (ww).
	<i>Pth-ḥtp</i>	606-8	V.L- VI.E	Hassan, <i>Ny-'ankh-Pepy</i> , Figure 34b (fd).
	<i>Shm-k3.j</i>	53	V.L- VI.E	Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Plate IXb (northern part ww).
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Plate IXa (panel fd).
VI.E	<i>Nfr-sšm-R</i>	511-2	VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2b.
	<i>J3sn</i>	82	VI.E	Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Figure 33 (ww, southern part).
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Figure 35 (ww).
	<i>Špsj-pw-pth</i>	---	VI.E	Kanawati, <i>Shepsiptah</i> , Plate 38 (fd).
	<i>Jnw-mnw</i>		VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 4b.
	<i>Htp -nj-pth</i>	94-5	VI.E	Altenmüller, <i>Hetepnuptah</i> , Abb. 7 (nw).
	<i>Mr.f-nb.f</i>	---	VI.E	www.osirisnet.net (ww, southern fd).
				ww, southern part.
	<i>St-k3.j</i>	160-1	VI.E	Junker, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 87 (ww, southern part).
	<i>Sḥnh-w(j)-pth</i>	---	VI.E	Kanawati, <i>S'ankhuipth</i> , (fd).
	<i>Htp -nj-pth</i>		VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 4c.
	<i>Wrnw</i>	519	VI.E	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 26.
	<i>Mttj</i>	646-8	VI.E	Kaplony, <i>Metheti</i> , no. 9 (page 51).
	<i>Jrj.s</i>	---	VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 8c.
	<i>Pth-špss [TT]</i>	460	VI.E	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , blatt 21 (no. 1418).
	<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i>	525- 34	VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2d; www.osirisnet.net
	<i>Wḥtt-ḥt-ḥr</i>	534-5	VI.E	www.osirisnet.net (sw niche fd).
				www.osirisnet.net (nw niche fd)
	<i>Mrjj-ttj</i>	536-7	VI.E	www.osirisnet.net room C3 (fd).

				Room C3 (sw).
				Room C3 (nw).
	<i>K3.j-gm-nj</i>	521-5	VI.E	www.osirisnet.net (fd) (room VII).
	<i>Hsj</i>	---	VI.E	Kanawati, <i>Hesy</i> , Plate 57.
	<i>Hntj-k3.j</i>	508-11	VI.E	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2e.
	<i>R^c-wr</i>	558	VI.E	El-Fikey, <i>Re'-wer</i> , Plate 6.
	<i>Mhw</i>	619-22	VI.E	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 75 (fd).
				Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 56 (sw).
				Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 64 (nw).
	<i>nh-mrj-r^c</i>	621-2	VI.E	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 81 (sw).
				Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 86 (nw).
				Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 95 (fd).
	<i>Htp-k3.j</i>	---	VI.E	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 96 (fd).
	<i>Smdntj</i>	520	VI.E/M	Lloyd, <i>Semdentj</i> , Plate 10 (fd).
				Lloyd, <i>Semdentj</i> , Plate 9 (ww)
VI.M/L	<i>Mrrj</i>	518-9	VI.M	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 12 (nw).
				Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 14 (sw).
				Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 2 (exterior fd).
				Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 11 (interior fd).
	<i>Mry-r^c-nh</i>	586	VI.M	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , blatt 39 (no. 1483).
	<i>K3r</i>	184-5	VI.M/L	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 25 (court C,ww) Plan XXX PM, room II.
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 23 (court C,nw) Plan XXX PM, room II.
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 30 (room E,nw) Plan XXX PM, room IV.
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 31 (room E,sw) Plan XXX PM, room IV.
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 32 (room E,fd) Plan XXX PM, room IV.
	<i>Jdw</i>	185-6	VI.M/L	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 39 (ww, south of fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 40 (ww, fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.
				Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 41 (ww, north of fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.
	<i>Nj-nh-nfr-tm</i>	---	VI.L	www.osirisnet.net (nw).

				Northern part of ww.
				ww northern fd.
				ww northern fd on southern part.
	<i>Ttw</i>	537	VI.L	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 9.
	<i>Jsj</i>	---	VI.L	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 82-5.
	<i>Ttj</i>	684-5	VI.L	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 6d.
	<i>Tti</i>	684	VI.L	Jéquier, <i>Pepy II, Vol III</i> , Figure 70.

Baking rim present

Table VI. The presence of the indentation at the underside of the loaf

	Name	PM	dating	no. loaves	literature
IV.E	<i>Ntr-ζpr.f</i>	---	IV.E	8	Alexanian, <i>Netjeraperef</i> , Plate 29.
	<i>Nfr-mζt</i>		IV.E	8	Harpur, <i>Maidum</i> , Figure 43, Plate 10.
	<i>Rζ-h\dot{t}p</i>		IV.E	8	Harpur, <i>Maidum</i> , Plate 71.
	<i>Hwtj</i>	489	IV.E	16	Ziegler, <i>AEP</i> , 246.
	<i>Wp-m-nfrt</i>	57	IV.E	8	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 1.
	<i>Kζ.j-nfr</i>	57	IV.E	15	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 4.
	<i>Hwfw-nht</i>	57	IV.E	13	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 5.
	<i>Nfr</i>	58	IV.E	16	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 7.
	<i>Kζ.j-m-ζh</i>	59	IV.E	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 10.
	<i>Jnj</i>	61	IV.E	16	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 16.
	<i>Jwnw</i>	124	IV.E	14	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 25.
	<i>Hwfw-hζ.f</i> [I]	88-90	IV.E/M	13	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 31 (sw).
				12	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 32 (fd).
IV.M/L	<i>Nfrt-jζbt</i>	59-60	IV.M	15	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 11.
	<i>Mrj</i>	501-2	IV.M	12	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 108-20.
	<i>Nfr</i>	72-4	IV.M	12	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 167-71.
				12	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 6.57 (southern entr.th.).
				12	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 6.76 (panel fd ww).
	<i>St-hknt</i>	60	IV.M/L	11	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 13.
	<i>Sζst-s-hntjw</i>	74	IV.M/L	10	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 18.
	G 2135	75	IV.M/L	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 20.
	<i>Mrt-jt.s</i>	124	IV.M/L	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 24.
	G 4860	141	IV.M/L	18	Der Manuelian, <i>Slab stelae</i> , Plate 30, Figure 165.
	<i>Mrs-ζnh</i> [III]	197-9	IV.L	11	Dunham, <i>Gmast</i> 1, Figure 7.
	<i>Dd.f-hwfw</i>	219	IV.L	16	Junker, <i>Giza X</i> , Figure 25 (sw).
	<i>Mrjb</i>	71-2	IV.L	14	Der Manualian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, 4.51 (southern fd)

	Name	PM	dating	no. loaves	literature
				14	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, 4.51 (northern fd)
				16	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, 4.51 (over the northern fd).
	<i>K3.j-nfr</i>	77-8	IV.L- V.E	10	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 12.68 (northern entr. th.).
	<i>K3.j-^cpr</i>	---	IV.L- V.E	11	Bárta, <i>Abusir</i> V, Plate LXXXVI.
				10	Bárta, <i>Abusir</i> V, Figure 4.16 (page 167) (ew).
V.E	<i>Ssm-nfr</i> [I]	142-3	V.E	12	Kanawati, <i>Giza</i> I, Plate 47 (northern fd).
	<i>K3.j-nj-njswt</i> [I]	78-9	V.E	12	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.29 (northern entr.th.).
				11	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.32 (southern entr.th.).
				12	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.48 (sw).
				11	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.55 (panel southern fd).
				11	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 13.55 (panel northern fd).
	<i>Nnsdr-k3.j</i>	72	V.E	8	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.25 (architrave entr. portico).
				7	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (architrave southern fd).
				7	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.47 (panel southern fd).
				7	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.57 (architrave northern fd).
				7	Der Manuelian, <i>Gmast</i> 8, Figure 5.61 (panel northern fd).
	<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i>	583-4	V.E/M	16	Van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , Plate 5 (ww).
				14	Van de Walle, <i>Neferirtenef</i> , Plate 8 (sw).
				14	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 33 (fd).
V.M	<i>Nfr-xww</i>	---	V.M	11	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 176-86.
	<i>Jtj</i>	174	V.M	12	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 51 (sw).
				12	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 52 (architrave).
				8	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 54 (architrave over room entrance).

	Name	PM	dating	no. loaves	literature
	<i>Nfr / K3-h3.j</i>	639-41	V.M-V.L	14	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-6).
				8	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-8).
				8	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-9).
				15	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-10).
				18	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV above 8-9).
				15	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV above 11).
				11	Moussa, <i>Nefer and Ka-hay</i> (PM plan LXV-11).
	<i>Nfr-b3w-ptḥ</i>	169-70	V.M-V.L	12	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 22 (ww).
	<i>Jmrrj</i>	170-4	V.M-V.L	14	Weeks, <i>Gmast</i> 5, Figure 44 (ww, southern part).
	<i>Nj-ḥnh-hnmw</i>	641-4	V.M-V.L	12	Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Figure 26; (northern fd).
				14	Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Tafel 87; (sw).
				14	Moussa, <i>Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep</i> , Tafel 88; (nw).
	<i>Ḥwfw-ḥ^c.f [IT]</i>	190-1	V.M-V.L	14	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 49 (sw).
				12	Simpson, <i>Gmast</i> 3, Figure 50 (ww).
	<i>Rdj-ns</i>	145	V.M-V.L	14	Der Manuelian, <i>Redi-nes</i> (fd).
V.L	<i>Shm-ḥnh-ptḥ</i>	454-5	V.L	16	Simpson, <i>Sekhem-ankh-ptah</i> , Plates IV, V (fd).
	<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i>	467-8	V.L	22	Simpson, <i>Kaemnofret</i> , plan B.
	<i>K3.j-m-ḥnh</i>	131-3	V.L	20	Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 29 (sw).
				15	Kanawati, <i>Giza I</i> , Plate 30 (fd).
	<i>K3.j-m-rḥw</i>	485-7	V.L	14	Mogensén, <i>Mastaba</i> , 12 (ww)
	<i>Nbt</i>	624-5	V.L	10	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2a.
	<i>R^c-m-k3.j</i>	487-8	V.L	9	www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/577370

	Name	PM	dating	no. loaves	literature
	<i>Jrw-k3-ptḥ</i>	639	V.L	12	www.osirisnet.net
	<i>K3-j-ḥnt</i>	69	V.L	10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 148 (ww).
	<i>K3pj</i>	69-70	V.L	10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 164 (fd).
				10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 164 (fd).
				10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 166 (ww).
	<i>Nj-m3ʿt-rʿ</i>	70	V.L	10	Roth, <i>Gmast</i> 6, Figure 188 (ww).
				14	Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.1
				14	Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.3 (fd)
				14	Bolshakov, <i>OK reliefs</i> , Figure 5.4 (ww corridor).
	<i>Nfr-jnpw</i>	---	V.L	14	Bárta, <i>Abusir XXIII</i> , Figure 4.6; AS 37 (fd)
	<i>Nfr</i>	---	V.L	8	Cover of Prague Egyptological Studies, XV/2015 (panel fd).
				8	Cover of Prague Egyptological Studies, XV/2015 (panel fd).
	<i>Ḥkrt-nbty</i>	---	V.L	13	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B16 (panel fd).
				17	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B11 (ew).
	<i>Tjtst-ḥr</i>	---	V.L	13	Verner, <i>Abusir VI</i> , Figure B19 (panel fd).
	<i>Pth-ḥtp [TI]</i>	600-5	V.L	16	Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXIV (ww).
				16	Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXVIII (nw).
				20	Quibell, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , Plate XXXIX (fd).
	<i>Sndjm-jbIntj</i>	85-7	V.L	20	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 61 (sw).
				20	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 64 (nw).
	<i>Sndjm-jb Mḥj</i>	87-9	V.L	20	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 124 (sw); LD, <i>Erg.</i> , Plate XV.
				12	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 126 (fd); LD, II, Plate 75.
				16	Brovarski, <i>Gmast</i> 7, Figure 128 (nw); LD, <i>Erg.</i> , Plate XVI.
	<i>K3-pw-Jnpw</i>	579-80	V.L	14	Petrie, <i>Seven chapels</i> , Figure XI (fd).
	<i>Tjj</i>	468-78	V.L	16	www.osirisnet.net (corridor III, no. 21).

	Name	PM	dating	no. loaves	literature
				14	www.osirisnet.net (chapel L-fd; room VI, no. 40).
				14	www.osirisnet.net (chapel R-fd; room VI, no. 42).
	<i>Nbt</i>	624-5	V.L	10	Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , Plate 46 (panel fd).
	<i>Jj-nfrr</i>	616	V.L	22	Kanawati, <i>Iynefert</i> , Plate 45 (sw).
	<i>Nj-k3w-R^c</i>	697	V.L- VI.E	10	Saleh, <i>Hauptwerke</i> , no. 57 (fd).
	<i>K3r</i>	---	V.L- VI.E	15	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , 88 (chapel I, fd).
					Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Plate 14 (nw II)
				16	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Plate 15 (chapel II, fd).
				19	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Figure 5.3.8 (sw).
				16	Bárta, <i>Abusir XIII</i> , Figure 5.3.6. (nw).
	<i>Tp-m-^cnh</i>	698-9	V.L- VI.E	14	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 258-61.
	<i>Htj</i>	163-4	V.L- VI.E	12	Der Manuelian, <i>G 5480</i> , Figure 30 (ww).
	<i>Pth-htp</i>	606-8	V.L- VI.E	16	Hassan, <i>Ny-'ankh-Pepy</i> , Figure 34b (fd).
	<i>Shm-k3.j</i>	53	V.L- VI.E	16	Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Plate IXb (northern part ww).
				21	Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Plate IXa (panel fd).
VI.E	<i>Nfr-s^csm-R^c</i>	511-2	VI.E	10	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2b.
	<i>J3sn</i>	82	VI.E	12	Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Figure 33 (ww, southern part).
				10	Simpson, <i>Gmast 4</i> , Figure 35 (ww).
	<i>Špsj-pw-pth</i>	---	VI.E	18	Kanawati, <i>Shepsiptah</i> , Plate 38 (fd).
	<i>Jnw-mnw</i>		VI.E	14	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 4b.
	<i>Htp -nj-ptb</i>	94-5	VI.E	22	Altenmüller, <i>Hetepnptah</i> , Abb. 7 (nw).
	<i>Mr.f-nb.f</i>	---	VI.E	16	www.osirisnet.net (ww, southern fd).
				22	ww, southern part.
				16	nw.
	<i>St-k3.j</i>	160-1	VI.E	18	Junker, <i>Giza VII</i> , Figure 87 (ww, southern part).

	Name	PM	dating	no. loaves	literature
	<i>S^cnh-w(j)-pth</i>	---	VI.E	18	Kanawati, <i>S'ankhuiphtah</i> , (fd).
	<i>Htp -nj-ptḥ</i>		VI.E	16	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 4c.
	<i>Wrnw</i>	519	VI.E	12	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 26.
	<i>Mtj</i>	646-8	VI.E	10	Kaplony, <i>Metheti</i> , no. 9 (page 51).
	<i>Jrj.s</i>	---	VI.E	12	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 8c.
	<i>Pth-špss</i> [II]	460	VI.E	16	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , blatt 21 (no. 1418).
	<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i>	525-34	VI.E	26	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2d; www.osirisnet.net
	<i>W^ctt-ḥt-ḥr</i>	534-5	VI.E	20	www.osirisnet.net (sw niche fd).
				20	www.osirisnet.net (nw niche fd)
	<i>Mrjj-ttj</i>	536-7	VI.E	18	www.osirisnet.net room C3 (fd).
				22	Room C3 (sw).
				22	Room C3 (nw).
	<i>K3.j-gm-nj</i>	521-5	VI.E	14	www.osirisnet.net (fd) (room VII).
	<i>Hsj</i>	---	VI.E	14	Kanawati, <i>Hesy</i> , Plate 57.
	<i>Hntj-k3.j</i>	508-11	VI.E	20	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 2e.
	<i>R^c-wr</i>	558	VI.E	16	El-Fikey, <i>Re'-wer</i> , Plate 6 (ww)
					El-Fikey, <i>Re'-wer</i> , Plate 7 (ww)
	<i>Mḥw</i>	619-22	VI.E	16	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 75 (fd).
				14	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 56 (sw).
				14	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 64 (nw).
	<i>ḥnh-mrj-r^c</i>	621-2	VI.E	15	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 81 (sw).
				21	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 86 (nw).
				14	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 95 (fd).
	<i>Htp-k3.j</i>	---	VI.E	22	Altenmüller, <i>Mehu</i> , Plate 96 (fd).
	<i>Smdntj</i>	520	VI.E/M	12	Lloyd, <i>Sementi</i> , Plate 10 (fd).
					Lloyd, <i>Sementi</i> , Plate 9 (ww)
VI.M/L	<i>Mrrj</i>	518-9	VI.M	18	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 12 (nw).

	Name	PM	dating	no. loaves	literature
				18	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 14 (sw).
				13	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 2 (exterior fd).
				12	Davies, <i>Mereri</i> , Plate 11 (interior fd).
	<i>Mry-r^c-nh</i>	586	VI.M	8	Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , blatt 39 (no. 1483).
	<i>K3r</i>	184-5	VI.M/L	26	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 25 (court C,ww) Plan XXX PM, room II.
				22	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 23 (court C,nw) Plan XXX PM, room II.
				18	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 30 (room E,nw) Plan XXX PM, room IV.
				18	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 31 (room E,sw) Plan XXX PM, room IV.
				8	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 32 (room E,fd) Plan XXX PM, room IV.
	<i>Jdw</i>	185-6	VI.M/L	12	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 39 (ww, south of fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.
				18	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 40 (ww, fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.
				10	Simpson, <i>Gmast 2</i> , Figure 41 (ww, north of fd), plan XXX PM, offering room.

Indentation present

	Name	PM	dating	no. loaves	literature
	<i>Nj-nh-nfr-tm</i>	---	VI.L	10	www.osirisnet.net (nw).
				12	Northern part of ww.
				10	ww northern fd.
				10	ww northern fd on southern part.
	<i>Ttw</i>	537	VI.L	18	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 9.
	<i>Jsj</i>	---	VI.L	13	Ziegler, <i>Louvre</i> , 82-5.
	<i>ttj</i>	684-5	VI.L	12	Brovarski, <i>False doors</i> , 73, Figure 6d.
	<i>Ttj</i>	684	VI.L	12	Jéquier, <i>Pepy II</i> , Vol III, Figure 70.

Table VII.a. The percentage of bed-making scenes per period¹

name	PM	Date OEE	Date DETOK	Date	%
<i>Mr.s-ʕnh</i> [III]	III/1, 197-9	IV.6	IV.6	IV.L	3.8
<i>Nb-m-3ht</i>	III/1, 230-2	IV.6-V.1	IV.6 – V.1	V.E	
<i>Nswt-pw-ntr</i>	III/1, 278	V.2	V.2	V.E	
<i>Wrjr-n-pth</i>	III/2, 699-700	V.3-5	V.3-5?	V.E	7.7
<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	III/2, 616	V.9	V.9	V.L	
<i>ʕnh-m-ʕ-rʕ</i>	III/1, 206	V.9	V.9	V.L	
<i>Nb.t</i>	III/2, 624-5	V.9	V.9	V.L	
<i>Hnw.t</i>	III/2, 623-4	V.9	V.9	V.L	
<i>Nj-m3ʕt-re</i>	III/1, 70	V.9-VI.1	---	V.L	
<i>Nfr-sšm-pth</i>	III/2, 616	V.9-VI.1	V.9-VI.1	V.L	
<i>pth-htp jnj-ʕnh</i>	III/2, 606-7	V.9-VI.1	V.9-VI.1	V.L	
<i>Jrw-k3.j-pth</i>	III/2, 639	V.8	VI	V.L	30.8
<i>mrrw-k3.j</i>	III/2, 525-34	VI.1	VI.1M-L	VI.E	
<i>k3.j-m-ʕnh</i>	III/1, 131-3	VI.1	VI	VI.E	
<i>jnj-snfrw-jšt.f</i>	III/2, 891	VI.1?	---	VI.E	
<i>NN²</i>	III/2, 752	VI.1-2?	---	VI.E	
<i>Wd3-h3-ttj</i>	III/2, 515-6	VI.1-2	V.1L-2E	VI.E	
<i>Mr.f-nb.f</i>	---	VI.2	---	VI.E	
<i>Mhw</i>	III/1, 94	VI.1-3	VI.1-3?	VI.E	26.9
<i>Thjj</i>	I, 293	VI.3-4		VI.L	
<i>Hntj</i>	I, 445	VI.4-5		VI.L	
<i>K3.j-hp</i>	V, 19	VI.5-6		VI.L	
<i>Wnjs-ʕnh</i>	I, ---	VI.6		VI.L	
<i>špsjpw-mjn</i>	V, 19	VI.6		VI.L	
<i>Ppj</i>	IV, 254	VI.6-7?		VI.L	
<i>Hnkw</i>	IV, 242	VI.7		VI.L	26.9

¹ The tomb no. 13.1.1.(19) in the data of OEE has been omitted from the table.² New York, Brooklyn Museum, no. 71.10.1.

Table VII.b. The objects under the bed in the bed scene

name	PM	Date	offerings	furniture	remarks
<i>Mr.s-ḥnḥ</i> [III]	III/1, 197 - 9	IV.6	---	---	---
<i>Nb-m-ḥt</i>	III/1, 230-2	IV.6-V.1	---	---	---
<i>Wrjr-n-pth</i>	III/2, 699-700	V.3-5	---	---	---
<i>Jrw-k3.j-pth</i>	III/2, 639	V.8	---	---	---
<i>Nj-m-ḥt-re</i>	III/1, 70	V.9-VI.1	---	vase	---
<i>Nfrsšm-pth</i>	III/2, 645	VI.1	---	furniture	---
<i>mrrw-k3.j</i>	III/2, 525-34	VI.1	---	---	---
<i>mrrw-k3.j</i>	III/2, 525-34	VI.1	---	furniture/ vases	marital bed scene
<i>k3.j-m-ḥnḥ</i>	III/1, 131-3	VI.1	---	---	---
<i>k3.j-m-ḥnḥ</i>	III/1, 131-3	VI.1	---	---	---
<i>Mḥw</i>	III/1, 94	VI.1-3	---	furniture	---
<i>Mr.f-nb.f</i>	---	VI.2	---	furniture	---
<i>Ppj</i>	IV, 254	VI.6-7?	---	furniture/ vases	marital bed scene

Table VIII. Gestures with the flower of the water lily.¹

name	PM	Date	Male	Female
<i>Snb</i>	101 - 3	IV.E ²		smelling
<i>Htp-ḥr.s</i> [I]	179 - 82	IV.E		smelling
<i>K3-wḥb</i>	187- 8	IV.E	holding ³	
<i>Hwfw-ḥ.f</i> [I]	188-90	IV.E		holding ⁴

¹ The tombs in this list are based on Mastabase, Harpur, *DETOK*, table 6.11 (page 331) and Pieke, *Lotosblume*, 275-80. In the table only the categories 1, 2 and 3 of chapter VIII, section III have been included. The list is not completely exhaustive, because only the Memphite necropoleis of Giza, Saqqara and Abusir are included and serves to indicate the strong connection between gender and the type of water lily flower subtheme. Because persons of lesser social status are often depicted in this theme with a different attitude than the tomb owner and family, only the latter group has been included in the list. There are examples that children are holding a water lily flower (*Nfr-bA.w-pth*, PM, III/1, 169 - 170, Harpur, *DETOK*, Figure 24 (page 458); LD, II, 22a). An example of a child that smells the flower is found in the mastaba of *Pth-šps* at Abusir (PM, III/1, 340 - 2; Verner, *Abusir I*, Figure 31).

² Junker, *Giza V*, Figure 23.

³ Simpson, *Gmast 3*, Figure 15, some doubt is possible because only the stem and not the flower is visible.

⁴ Simpson, *Gmast 3*, Figure 34.

Name	PM	Date	Male	Female
<i>Hwfw-h.f</i> [I]	188-90	IV.E		smelling
<i>Nj-^cnh-w3dt</i>	501-2	IV.M		smelling ⁵
<i>Htp-hr.s</i>		IV.L ⁶		smelling
<i>Mrs-^cnh</i> [III]	193 - 4	IV.L ⁷		smelling
<i>Mrs-^cnh</i> [III]	193 - 4	IV.L	holding	
<i>Mrs-^cnh</i> [III]	193 - 4	IV.L ⁸		holding
<i>Nj-k3w-R^c</i>	232 - 3	IV.L ⁹	holding	
<i>Mr-jb</i>	71 - 2	IV.L		holding
<i>Hmrr-nbtj</i>	293-4	IV.L		holding ¹⁰
<i>Mr-jb</i>	71 - 2	IV.L - V.E		holding
<i>N-sdr-k3.j</i>	72 - 4	V.E		holding
<i>Shm-k3-R^c</i>	233 - 4	V.E ¹¹	holding	
<i>Sst-htp</i>	149 - 50	V.E		holding
<i>Ssmnfr</i> [I]	142-3	V.E		holding
<i>K3.j-swq3</i>	159	V.M ¹²	receiving	
<i>Pth-špss</i>	340 -2	V.M ¹³	smelling	
<i>Hnmw-htp</i>	641 - 4	V.M	smelling	
<i>Nj-^cnh-Hnmw</i>	641 - 4	V.M	holding	smelling
<i>Htp.t</i>	---	V.M		smelling
<i>Ssmnfr</i> [II]	146	V.M	receiving	
<i>K3-nj-nswt</i> [II]	79 - 80	V.M ¹⁴	receiving	
<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	298 - 9	V.M ¹⁵		smelling
<i>Pth-htp</i>	653 - 4	V.M - V.L		holding ¹⁶

⁵ Hayes, *Scepter I*, Figure 48.

⁶ This depiction is not on a wall but on a box placed in the burial chamber (Reisner, *Giza II*, Figure 30).

⁷ On one of the entrance thicknesses of the tomb of *Mr.s-^cnh* [III] (PM, III/1, 197-9) she is standing while she smells the flower of a water lily (Dunham, *Gmast 1*, Figure 3b).

⁸ Dunham, *Gmast 1*, Figure 11.

⁹ LD, *Erg.*, Plate XXXV.

¹⁰ Stevenson Smith, *HESPOK*, 300; mentioned in the tomb of her son *Hw-n-r^c* (PM, III/2, 293-4)

¹¹ Hassan, *Giza IV*, Figure 62.

¹² Junker, *Giza VII*, Figure 71.

¹³ Verner, *Abusir I*, Figure 31. The smelling male member of the family is a child that is still depicted in nudity.

¹⁴ Junker, *Giza III*, Figure 21.

¹⁵ Probable date given by Schümann, *Ii-nefret*, 14.

¹⁶ L.D., II, 103a.

Name	PM	Date	Male	Female
<i>Nj-htp- Hnmw</i>	50	V.M – V.L		holding
<i>Ffj</i>	285	V.M – V.L		holding
<i>Tymry</i>	170 – 4	V.M – V.L	smelling	
<i>Tymry</i>	170 – 4	V.M – V.L	receiving	
<i>Tymry</i>	170 – 4	V.M – V.L		smelling
<i>Rdj G 2086</i>	---	V.M – V.L	receiving	
<i>Nfrj</i>	50 - 1	V.M – V.L		smelling
<i>Nfr</i>	639 – 41	V.M – V.L		smelling
<i>Nfr-b3w-Pth</i>	169 – 70	V.M – V.L	receiving	
<i>Nfr-b3w-Pth</i>	169 – 70	V.M – V.L	smelling	
<i>K3.j-dw3</i>	244 - 5	V.M – V.L ¹⁷	holding	
<i>K3.j-dw3</i>	244 - 5	V.M – V.L		smelling
<i>K3pj</i>	69 – 70	V.M – V.L	receiving	
<i>K3pj</i>	69 – 70	V.M – V.L ¹⁸		smelling
<i>Hwfw-h^cf [II]</i>	190 - 1	V.M – V.L ¹⁹	receiving	
<i>Hwfw-h^cf [II]</i>	190 - 1	V.M – V.L		smelling
<i>Hww-wr</i>	254 - 5	V.L ²⁰	holding	
<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i>	583-4	V.L		holding
<i>Ssmnfr [II]</i>	146-8	V.L	receiving	
<i>Ssmnfr [III]</i>	153 – 4	V.L	receiving	
<i>R^c-wr [II]</i>	162 - 3	V.L	receiving	
<i>3bdw</i>	51	V.L	receiving	
<i>Sndm-jb Intj</i>	85 - 7	V.L ²¹	receiving	
<i>Sndm-jbMhj</i>	87 - 9	V.L		smelling
<i>Kpj</i>	---	V.L ²²	receiving	
<i>Rdj</i>	---	V.L ²³	receiving	
<i>Rdj</i>	---	V.L ²⁴		smelling
<i>Hnjt</i>	162	V.L		smelling
<i>Trw-k3-Pth</i>	639	V.L	smelling	

¹⁷ Hassan, Giza VI(3), Figure 83.¹⁸ Roth, *Gmast* 6, Figure 161a.¹⁹ Simpson, *Gmast* 3, Figure 49.²⁰ Hassan, Giza V, Figure 106.²¹ LD, *Erg.*, Plate XXII (a).²² Roth, *Gmast* 6, Plate 163.²³ Roth, *Gmast* 6, Plate 140.²⁴ Roth, *Gmast* 6, Plate 161a.

Name	PM	Date	Male	Female
<i>ʕ3-Mnw</i>	---	V.L	smelling	
<i>ḥkrt-nbtj</i>	---	V.L ²⁵		smelling
<i>Tj-nfrt</i>	---	V.L		smelling ²⁶
<i>Nb.t</i>	624 - 5	V.L		smelling ²⁷
<i>Idwt</i>	617-9	V.L		smelling
<i>Nfr-s-rs</i> ²⁸	282-4	V.L		smelling
<i>Htp-ḥr.s</i>	282-4	V.L		smelling
<i>K3-m-ḥnh</i>	131 - 3	V.L		smelling
<i>K3-j-ḥp</i>	448	V.L ²⁹		smelling
<i>šhm-k3.j</i>	53	V.L ³⁰	receiving	
<i>Mrj-nbf</i>	---	V.L – VI.E	receiving	
<i>Njwty</i>	133	V.L – VI.E	receiving	
<i>tp-m-ḥnh</i>	698 - 9	V.L – VI.E	receiving ³¹	
<i>Nfr [T]</i>	137 - 8	V.L – VI.E	receiving	
<i>K3-m-nfrt</i>	208 - 9	V.L – VI.E	receiving	
<i>Nb-k3w-Hr</i>	627 - 9	V.L – VI.E	smelling	
<i>K3-m-ḥst</i>	542-3	V.L – VI.E		smelling
<i>Nj-ḥnh-nfr-tm</i>	---	VI.E ³²	smelling	
<i>Nbw-nt</i>	---	VI.E		smelling
<i>Wtt-ḥt</i>	534 - 5	VI.E		smelling
<i>Mrrwk3</i>	525 - 34	VI.E		smelling
<i>Mrrwk3</i>	525 - 34	VI.E	holding	
<i>Jnw-mjn</i>	---	VI.E		smelling
<i>Jnw-mjn</i>	---	VI.E		holding
<i>J3sn</i>	82	VI.E	receiving	
<i>Wtt-ḥt-ḥr</i>	534 - 5	VI.E ³³		smelling
<i>Mrj-ttj</i>	536-7	VI.E	smelling	
<i>Mrj-ttj</i>	536-7	VI.E		smelling

²⁵ Verner, *Abusir VI*, Figure B10 (page 23).

²⁶ McFarlane, *Behind the scenes*, Chapter VII, Figure 4.

²⁷ Lauer, *Saqqara*, Plate 131.

²⁸ Hassan, *Giza II*, Figure 225.

²⁹ Date based on the surface of mastaba 3511 (64m²). Martin, *Hetepka*, Plate 21).

³⁰ Simpson, *Gmast 4*, Figures 6, 7.

³¹ Louvre, E 11161; Ziegler, *Louvre*, 254-5.

³² www.osirisnet.net, *Saqqara*, Niankhnefertem, page 3, southern wall.

³³ Lauer, *Saqqara*, Plate 42.

³⁴ Lauer, *Saqqara*, Plate IX, here *Sšsš.t* is smelling a water lily in her left hand and holding another flower in her right hand.

³⁵ Kanawati, *Burial customs*, 22, for the date: Kanawati, *Nedjet-em-pet*, 12-3.

Name	PM	Date	Male	Female
<i>ššš.t</i>	617 - 9	VI.E ³⁴		smelling
<i>Nḡt-m-pt</i>	---	VI.E ³⁵		smelling
<i>Rmnj</i>	---	VI.E		smelling
<i>šnb</i>	101 - 3	VI.M - VI.L		smelling
<i>Jṯw</i>	103	VI		smelling
<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i>	250-1	VI		smelling
<i>3bdw</i>	51	VI		smelling
<i>ḥr-mrw</i>	626	VI.L		smelling
<i>ṯtw</i>	66 - 7	VI.L		smelling
<i>Mnj [TT]</i>	107 - 8	VI.L		smelling
<i>K3ḥjḥ</i>	76	VI.L		holding ³⁶
<i>ṯtw [TT]</i>	---	VI.L - FIP	smelling	
<i>Nt-ḥtp</i>	---	VI.L - FIP ³⁷	smelling	
<i>Ḥrjṣ.f-nḥt</i>	---	VI.L - FIP	smelling	
<i>Ḳd-ns</i>	---	FIP	smelling	
<i>Njsw-ḳdw</i>	---	FIP ³⁸	smelling	
<i>Njsw-ḳdw</i>	---	FIP		smelling
<i>S3.t-šd-3bd</i>	567	FIP ³⁹		smelling

³⁶ Junker, *Giza VI*, Figure 32. The wife is depicted sitting at het offering table on the tablet of the northern false door.

³⁷ Firth, *Teti cemetery II*, Plate 72.2.

³⁸ Junker, *Giza VI*, Figure 104.

³⁹ Ziegler, *Louvre*, 245.

Table IX. Catalogue of tombs depicting activities in the marshes by the tomb owner

name	PM no.	PM page	date	Period ¹
<i>Nfr-m3t</i>	IV	92-3	IV.1E-M	IV.E
				1.1%
<i>Nswt-pw-ntr</i>	III	278	V.2	V.E
				1.1%
<i>Hwfw-hc.f</i> [III]	III	190-1	V.6	V.M
<i>Pth-spss</i>	III	340-2	V.6-7	V.M
<i>Nj-nh-hnmw &</i>	III	641-4	V.6L-7	V.M
				3.4%
<i>Htp-hr-3htj</i>	III	593-5	V.6-8E	V.L
<i>Jrj-n-k3-Pth</i>	III	644	V.6-9	V.L
<i>Dw3-n-Rc</i>	III	608	V.6-9	V.L
Paris, Louvre E.26092	---	---	V.6-9	V.L
<i>S3-jb</i>	III	70	V.7-8	V.L
<i>K3.j-m-nfrt</i>	III	467-8	V.7-9E	V.L
<i>Wr-jr-nj</i>	IV	188-9	V.8E	V.L
<i>Rc-spss</i>	III	494-6	V.8M	V.L
<i>Jrw-k3-ptb</i>	III	639	V.8	V.L
<i>Sndjm-jbJntj</i>	III	85-7	V.8M-L	V.L
<i>Nfr-jrt-n.f</i>	III	583-4	V.8-9	V.L
<i>Dw3-hp</i>	III	595	V.8-9?	V.L
<i>Hns</i>	IV	134-5	V.8-9?	V.L
<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	III	298-9	V.8-9?	V.L
<i>Jj-nfrt</i>	III	616	V.9	V.L
<i>Sndjm-jb Mhj</i>	III	87-9	V.9	V.L
<i>Nfr-s3m-Pth</i>	III	645	V.9	V.L
<i>S3s3t: Jdwt</i>	III	617-9	V.9 (r/u)	V.L
<i>Nb-k3w-Hr: Jdw</i>	III	627-9	V.9 (r/u)	V.L
				21.6%
<i>Hsj-mnw</i>	V	---	V.8-VI.1	VI.E

¹ The chronology given in Harpur, *DETOK*, 34 is employed. A tomb of which the dating overlaps two periods V.6-7 (V.M-V.L) will be placed in the preceding period (V.M). A dating V.6-8 (V.M-V.L) is incorporated in the later period (V.L). The dating VI.1-3 is included in period VI.E.

name	PM no.	PM page	date	Period ¹
<i>Kd-ns</i>	III	585	V.8-VI.1?	VI.E
<i>Ssm-nfr</i> [IV]	III	223-6	V.9-VI.1	VI.E
<i>Nj-m3^cr-R^c</i>	III	70	V.9-VI.1	VI.E
<i>3htj-mrw-nswt</i>	III	80-1	V.9-VI.1	VI.E
<i>3htj-htp</i>	III	633-4	V.9-VI.2	VI.E
<i>K3-gm-nj</i>	III	521-5	VI.1E-M	VI.E
<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i>	III	525-34	VI.1M	VI.E
<i>K3-m-nh</i>	III	131-3	VI.1	VI.E
<i>Hm-mnw</i>	V	---	VI.1	VI.E
<i>Nj-nh-nswt</i>	III	694-6	VI.1M-L	VI.E
TNE95, F 136 (OEE)	III	---	VI.1-2?	VI.E
Brooklyn 69.115.2	III	---	VI.1-2?	VI.E
<i>Jttj</i>	IV	122-3	VI.1-2?	VI.E
<i>Snhwj-Pth</i>	III	---	VI.1L-2E	VI.E
<i>Hsj</i>	III	---	VI.1L-2E	VI.E
<i>Nj-k3w-Jssj</i>	III	---	VI.1L-2E	VI.E
Munich Äg.Mus.Gl 105	III	---	VI.1-3	VI.E
<i>Mhw</i>	III	94	VI.1-3	VI.E
<i>K3-hr-Pth</i>	III	166-7	VI.1-3	VI.E
<i>Mrrj</i>	III	518-9	VI.2E	VI.E
<i>Mrw: Ttj-snb</i>	III	520	VI.2E-M?	VI.E
<i>Mrrj-R^c-mrj-Pth-nh</i>	III	89-91	VI.2	VI.E
<i>K3-jrr</i>	III	631-2	VI.2	VI.E
<i>Mttj</i>	III	646-8	VI.2	VI.E
<i>Nj-nh-Ppj</i>	IV	137-8	VI.2?	VI.E
<i>Mrf-nbf</i>	III	---	VI.2L	VI.E
<i>Mhw</i>	III	619-22	VI.2M-3?	VI.E
Tomb G 97	V	---	VI.2L-3	VI.E
				33.%
<i>B3-wj (?)</i>	V	---	VI.2-4E	VI.M
<i>Ppj-ddj</i>	III	596	VI.2-4	VI.M
<i>Hsj-Mnwi</i>	V	---	VI.2-4	VI.M
Borchardt (Fowler) (OEE, Abusir)	III	349	VI.1-4	VI.M
<i>Ssm-nfr</i>	III	614-5	VI.2-4?	VI.M

name	PM no.	PM page	date	Period ¹
<i>Wjw</i>	IV	189, 191	VI.3-4	VI.M
<i>3htj-mḥw</i>	III	87	VI.3-4	VI.M
<i>Ppj-ḥnh</i>	IV	125-6	VI.3-4	VI.M
<i>Wr-nw</i>	III	519	VI.3-4	VI.M
<i>Jhj</i>	I	291, 293	VI.3-4	VI.M
<i>Jbj</i>	IV	243-4	VI.4E	VI.M
<i>Ppj-ḥnh</i>	IV	247, 249	VI.4-5	VI.M
<i>Ḥntj</i>	I	445	VI.4-5	VI.M
<i>Ttj: K3hp</i>	V	---	VI.4-5	VI.M
<i>Ḥr-mrw</i>	III	626	VI.4-7	VI.M
				17.%
<i>Nfrtj</i>	V	122	VI.5?	VI.L
<i>Mrjj-R^c-nfr: K3r</i>	III	184-5	VI.4	VI.L
<i>D 3^w</i>	IV	244-5	VI.4L	VI.L
<i>K3hp</i>	V	19	VI.5-6	VI.L
<i>Ppj-ḥnh</i>	IV	254-5	VI.5-6?	VI.L
<i>Mḥw and S^cbnj</i>	V	231-2	VI.6	VI.L
<i>Jdw: Snnj</i>	V	119, 121	VI.6	VI.L
<i>Špsj-pw-mnw</i>	V	---	VI.6	VI.L
				9.1%
<i>Ḥns</i>	V	235	VI.7	FIP
<i>Mrw</i>	V	---	VI.7	FIP
<i>Hnḳw</i>	IV	242 (67)	VI.7	FIP
<i>Ḥm-R^c</i>	IV	243	VI.7	FIP
<i>Ḥ wn-wḥ</i>	IV	239, 241	VI.7	FIP
<i>Jdw [I]</i>	V	111	VI.7-FIP	FIP
<i>S3bnj</i>	V	---	VI.7-FIP	FIP
<i>Hnḳw</i>	IV	242 (39)	VI.7L-FIP	FIP
Quibell (Fowler) (OEE)	III	564	VI.7L-FIP	FIP
<i>Jpj-ḥnhw</i>	III	564	VI.7L-FIP	FIP
<i>W^chj</i>	V	---	VI.7L-FIP	FIP
<i>Mrjj-3</i>	V	34	VI.7L-FIP	FIP
Total 88 tombs				13.6%

name	PM no.	PM page	date	Period ¹	%
<i>Mrs-ḥnḥ</i> [III]	III	197-9	IV.6	IV.L	
<i>Nb.j-m-Axtj</i>	III	230-2	IV.6 – V.1	IV.L	9

Table X. Catalogue of tombs with the scene ‘pulling papyrus’.

<i>K3-ḥnt</i>	V	8-9	V.3-6	V.M	
<i>Ḥwfw-ḥḥ.f</i> [II]	III	190-1	V.6	V.M	
<i>Jj-mrjj</i>	III	170-4	V.6	V.M	13
<i>Ftk-t3</i>	III	351	V.6-8	V.L	
<i>Jtj-sn</i>	III	252-3	V.6-8?	V.L	
<i>K3.j-dw3</i>	III	244-5	V.6-9?	V.L	
<i>Tjj</i>	III	468-78	V.7-8E	V.L	
<i>s3-jb</i>	III	70	V.7-8	V.L	
<i>K3.j-m-nfrit</i>	III	467-8	V.7-9E	V.L	
<i>Wr-jr-nj</i>	IV	188-9	V.8E	V.L	
<i>Ḥww-wr</i>	III	254-5	V.8-9M	V.L	
<i>Ḥns</i>	IV	134-5	V.8-9?	V.L	
<i>Ḥnwt</i>	III	623-4	V.9	V.L	
<i>Nbt</i>	III	624-5	V.9	V.L	
<i>Snb</i>	III	101-3	V.9?	V.L	52
<i>K3pj</i>	III	69-70	V.9-VI.1	VI.E	
<i>Mrrw-k3.j</i>	III	525-34	VI.1M	VI.E	
<i>K3-m-ḥnḥ</i>	III	131-3	VI.1	VI.E	
<i>J3sn</i>	III	82	VI.1M-2M	VI.E	
<i>Nj-ḥnḥ-Ppj</i>	IV	137-8	VI.2?	VI.E	22
<i>Ḥm-Rḥ</i>	IV	243	VI.7	VI.L	4

¹ The chronology given in Harpur, *DETOK*, 34 is employed. A tomb of which the dating overlaps two periods V.6-7 (V.M-V.L) will be placed in the preceding period (V.M). A dating V.6-8 (V.M-V.L) will be incorporated in the later period (V.L). The dating VI.1-3 is included in period VI.E.

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